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ANECDOTES
OF
THE LIFE OF
RICHARD WATSON,
BISHOP OF LANDAFF;
Written by himself at different Intervals,
and revised in 1814.
PUBLISHED BY HIS SON,
RICHARD WATSON, LL. B.
Prebendary of Landaff & Wells.
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THE SOUL.

BELIEVING as I do in the truth of the Christian religion, which teaches that men are accountable for their actions, I trouble not myself with dark disquisitions concerning necessity and liberty, matter and spirit; hoping, as I do, for eternal life through Jesus Christ, I am not disturbed at my inability clearly to convince myself that the soul is, or is not, a substance distinct from the body. *The truth of the Christian religion depends upon testimony*; now man is competent to judge of the weight of testimony, though he is not able, I think, fully to investigate the nature of the soul; and I consider the testimony concerning the resurrection of Jesus (and that fact is the corner-stone of the Christian church) to be worthy of entire credit. I probably should never have fallen into this scepticism on so great a point, but should have lived and died with my school-boy's faith, had I not been obliged, as an opponent, in the philosophical schools, at Cambridge, in 1758, to find arguments against the question; *Anima est suā naturā immortalis*—in turning over a great many books in search of arguments against this natural immortality of the soul, I met with an account, (I do not know in what author, but there is the same, or a similar one, mentioned in the French Encyclopedie, not then published, art. Mort,) of a man who came to life after having been for six weeks under water. This account, whether true or false, suggested to me a doubt concerning the soul's being, as I had till then without the least hesitation

conceived it to be, not a mere quality of the body, but a substance different in kind from it. I thought one might in some measure account for the restitution of motion and life, to a body considered as a machine, whose motions had been stopped without its fabric being destroyed; but I could not apprehend the possibility of recalling a soul which had left the body, with its last expiration, for the space of six weeks. I mention not this with a view of supporting the materiality of the soul, or the contrary, but merely to show upon what trifling circumstances our opinions are frequently formed;—a consideration this, which should teach us all to speak with candour of those who happen to differ from us, and to abate in ourselves that dogmatizing spirit, which often impels learned men to impose on others their own inveterate prejudices as incontrovertible truths.

DR. PALEY.

The first year I was moderator, Mr. Paley (afterwards known to the world by many excellent productions, though there are some ethical and some political principles in his philosophy which I by no means approve) and Mr. Frere, a gentleman of Norfolk, were examined together. A report prevailed, that Mr. Frere's grandfather would give him a thousand pounds, if he were senior wrangler: the other moderator agreed with me in thinking, that Mr. Paley was his superior, and we made him senior wrangler. Mr. Frere, much to his honour, on an imputation of partiality being thrown on my colleague and myself, publicly acknowledged, that he deserved only the second place; a declaration which could never have been made, had they not been examined in the presence of each other.

Paley, I remember, had brought me, for one of the questions he meant for his act, *Æternitas panarum contradicit divinis attributis*. I had accepted it; and indeed I never refused a question either as moderator or as professor of divinity. A few days afterwards, he came to me in a great fright, saying, that the master of his College (Dr. Thomas, dean of Ely,) had sent to him, and insisted on

his not keeping on such a question. I readily permitted him to change it, and told him, that, if it would lessen his master's apprehensions, he might put in *non* before *contradicit*, and he did so. Dr. Thomas, I had little doubt, was afraid of being looked upon as an heretic at Lambeth, for suffering a member of his college to dispute on such a question, notwithstanding what Tillotson had published on the subject many years before.

DUPLICITY OF STATESMEN.

There was no stipend annexed to the professorship of chemistry, nor any thing furnished to the Professor by the University, except a room to read lectures in. I was told that the Professors of Chemistry in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, &c., were supported by their respective monarchs; and I knew that the reading a course of lectures would every year be attended with a great expense; and, being very hearty in the design of recommending chemistry to the attention of the youth of the University and of the country, I thought myself justified in applying to the minister for a stipend from the crown. Lord Rockingham was then minister (1766), and Mr. Luther, who had lately spent above twenty thousand pounds in establishing the Whig interest in Essex, undertook to ask for it. Though an hundred a year given for the encouragement of science, is but as a drop in the ocean, when compared with the enormous sums lavished in unmerited pensions, lucrative sinecure places, and scandalous jobs, by every Minister on his flatterers and dependants, in order to secure his majorities in parliament, yet I obtained this drop with difficulty, and, unless the voice of a member of parliament had seconded my petition, I doubt whether I should have succeeded. I sent up to the Duke of Newcastle, Chancellor of the University, a testimonial from the Vice-Chancellor, that I had read, with credit, a course of chemical lectures; and that a chemical establishment would be highly useful to the University; together with this testimonial, I sent my petition to Lord Rockingham, requesting the Duke to present it to him.

The petition was presented in March, but I heard nothing about it till the July following; when, waiting upon the Duke of Newcastle, he asked if my business was done? I answered—No, and that I thought that it never would be done. I own I had been so much vexed at the delay, that I was very indifferent whether it ever was done or not, and

therefore answered with more firmness than the old man had been used to. He then asked why it had not been done? My answer was, "Because Lord Rockingham says, your Grace ought to speak to the king, as Chancellor of the University; and your Grace says that Lord Rockingham ought to speak to the king, as minister." He started at me with astonishment; and, calling for paper, he instantly wrote a letter, and, sealing it with his own seal, ordered me to go with it immediately to Lord Rockingham, who had a levee that day. I did so, (and it was the only time in my life that I ever attended a minister's levee,) and sent in my letter, before the levee began. I understood it was whispered, that Lord Rockingham and the Whigs were to go out of administration; and it was so: for their dismission was settled that day. Lord Rockingham, however, undertook to ask the king; and, apologizing for not having done it sooner, offered, in a very polite manner, to have the stipend (I only asked for 100l. a year,) settled upon me for life. This I refused, and desired to have it only whilst I continued Professor of Chemistry, and discharged the duty of the office.

DIVINITY.

I reduced the study of divinity into as narrow a compass as I could, for I determined to study nothing but my Bible, being much unconcerned about the opinions of councils, fathers, churches, bishops, and other men, as little inspired as myself. This mode of proceeding being opposite to the general one, and especially to that of the Master of Peterhouse, who was a great reader, he used to call me *αυτοδιδακτος*, the self-taught divine.—The Professor of Divinity had been nick-named *Malleus Hæreticorum*; it was thought to be his duty to demolish every opinion which militated against what is called the orthodoxy of the church of England. Now, my mind was wholly unbiased; I had no prejudice against, no predilection for the church of England; but a sincere regard for the church of Christ, and an insuperable objection to every degree of dogmatical intolerance. I never troubled myself with answering any arguments which the opponents in the divinity schools brought against the articles of the church, nor ever admitted their authority as decisive of a difficulty; but I used, on such occasions, to say to them, holding the New Testament in my hand, *En sacrum codicem!* Here is the fountain of truth, why do you follow the *strenue*

streams derived from it by the sophistry, or polluted by the passions, of man? If you can bring proofs against anything delivered in this book, I shall think it my duty to reply to you; articles of churches are not of divine authority; have done with them; for they may be true, they may be false: and appeal to the book itself. This mode of disputing gained me no credit with the hierarchy, but I thought it an honest one, and it produced a liberal spirit in the University.

STUDIES FOR A NOBLEMAN.

As to your studies, you may ever command my best assistance in the furtherance of them; you certainly ought not to think yourself at liberty to lay them aside at your age; books, indeed, never made a great statesman, and business has made many; yet books and business, combined together, are the most likely to enlarge your understanding, and to complete the character you aim at.

Persevere, I beg of you, in the resolution of doing something for yourself; your ancestors have left you rank and fortune; these will procure you that respect from the world, which other men with difficulty obtain, by personal merit. But, if to these you add your own endeavours to become good, and wise, and great, then will you deserve the approbation of men of sense.

General reading is the most useful for men of the world, but few men of the world have leisure for it; and those who have courage to abridge their pleasures for the improvement of their minds, would do well to consider, that different books ought to be read with very different degrees of attention; or, as Lord Bacon quaintly enough expresses it, some books are to be tasted or read in part only; some to be swallowed or read wholly, but not cursorily; and some to be digested, or read with great diligence, and well considered. Of this last kind, are the works of Lord Bacon himself. Nature has been very sparing in the production of such men as Bacon; they are a kind of superior beings; and the rest of mankind are usefully employed for whole centuries in picking up what they poured forth at once. Lord Bacon opened the avenues of all science, and had such a comprehensive way of thinking upon every subject, that a familiarity with his writings cannot fail of being extensively useful to you as an orator; and there are so many shrewd observations concerning human nature dispersed through his works, that you will be much the wiser for them as a private man.

I would observe the same of Mr.

Locke's writings, all of which, without exception (even his letters to the Bishop of Worcester will teach you acuteness in detecting sophistry in debate), may be read over and over again with infinite advantage. His reasoning is every where profound, and his language masculine. I hate the flimsy womanish eloquence of novel readers, I mean of such as read nothing else, and wish you, therefore, to acquire both justness of sentiment and strength of expression, from the perusal of the works of great men. Make Bacon then, and Locke, and why should I not add that sweet child of nature, *Shakspeare*, your chief companions through life, let them be ever upon your table, and, when you have an hour to spare from business or pleasure, spend it with them, and I will answer for their giving you entertainment and instruction as long as you live.

You can no more have an intimacy with all books than with all men, and one should take the best of both kinds for one's peculiar friends; for the human mind is ductile to a degree, and insensibly conforms itself to what it is most accustomed to. Thus with books as with men, a few friends stand us in better stead, than a multitude of folks we know little of. I do not think that you will ever become a great reader, I hope your time will be better employed; and yet, considering the worthless way in which the generality of men of fashion weary out their existence, the odds are against my hopes; yet I do hope it, and therefore will not burden you with the recommendation of a learned catalogue of ancient authors. One of them, however, I must mention to you; all the works of Plutarch are excellent, whether read in the original, or in a good translation, and his Lives in particular will furnish you not only with the knowledge of the greatest characters in antiquity, but will give you no mean insight into the most interesting parts of the Greek and Roman histories. Eloquence was never learned by rule, and Tully, and Quintilian, and Longinus, themselves, could not have made a Chatham; but a frequent reading of the best compositions, ancient and modern, will be of service to you.

Locke has laid in you a good foundation, or rather has finished the work of civil government; so that other authors upon that subject are less necessary for you; from him you are become acquainted with some of the principal questions of natural law; however, I think it would be very serviceable for you, and tend greatly to the furnishing

your mind with a species of knowledge which you will have frequent occasion for, though you may not at present, perhaps, be aware of the want of it, if you would take the trouble to peruse with attention some good author upon the laws of nature. Among the great number who have treated that subject with success, I am of opinion that Rutherford's *Institutes* (a kind of commentary upon Grotius *De Jure Belli et Pacis*), will, upon the whole, be the best book for you to employ your time upon. I am no stranger to what is urged in favour of Puffendorf, Cumberland, Hutchinson, Burlamaqui, and other more modern productions; but trust me for once, and you will not have any reason, I hope, to think your confidence in this matter misplaced. I take it for granted that one author will be as much as you will have patience for upon that subject; and, indeed, I think one will be as much as you will have occasion for. From the knowledge I have of the course of your former studies, and the apprehension of what, from your present situation as a young nobleman just entering into life, you will have the most immediate concern for, I should wish you to begin with Rutherford immediately; and, when you have read him leisurely and carefully quite through, as soon as you have finished him, and not before, if you would read Blackstone's *Commentaries* with an equal degree of attention, I should think you very well grounded; and depend upon it, no superstructure can be raised where there is no foundation. *Sapere* is as truly the *principium et fons* of good speaking as of good writing. I will not trouble you with any thing more upon this subject at present, for the books I have mentioned to you will require more time than you will be able shortly to give them. I have had no regard in what I have written to a fine plan, which it is much easier for me to form, than for any one to execute, but barely to what I think will be most useful to you at present, and most conducive to the one great end of your becoming a distinguished character in the management of national affairs, at some more distant period of your life. Different books may be proper for you as you increase in knowledge, and the best modern publications will fall in your way of course. As to mathematics and natural philosophy, though much of my own time has been spent in the cultivation of them, I do not think that they ought to be a principal pursuit with you. Euclid would have done much towards fixing your at-

tention; but Locke has well supplied his place, and I will, at any time when you have leisure and inclination for such an undertaking, make you acquainted with any one or with all the branches of natural philosophy.

PUBLIC CORRUPTION.

Would to God there may be virtue and good sense enough in the kingdom, to second the endeavours of those who are doing all they can to save their country; but the influence of the Crown (which has acquired its present strength more, perhaps, from the additional increase of empire, commerce, and national wealth, than from any criminal desire to subvert the constitution), has pervaded, I fear, the whole mass of the people. Every man of consequence almost in the kingdom, has a son, relation, friend, or dependent, whom he wishes to provide for; and, unfortunately for the liberty of this country, the Crown has the means of gratifying the expectation of them all.

HIS POLITICS.

Would to God the King of England had men of magnanimity enough in his councils, to advise him to meet, at this juncture, the wishes of his people; he would thereby become the idol of the nation, and the most admired monarch in Europe.

You mistake me, Sir, if you suppose that I have the most distant desire to make the democratic scale of the constitution outweigh the monarchical. Not one jot of the legal prerogative of the crown do I wish to see abolished; not one tittle of the king's influence in the state to be destroyed, except so far as it is extended over the representatives of the people.

I most readily submit to laws made by men exercising their free powers of deliberation for the good of the whole; but, when the legislative assembly is actuated by an extrinsic spirit, then submission becomes irksome to me; then I begin to be alarmed; knowing with Hooker, that to live by one man's will, becomes the cause of all men's misery. I dread despotism worse than death; and the despotism of a parliament worse than that of a king; but I hope the time will never come, when it will be necessary for me to declare that I will submit to neither. I shall probably be rotten in my grave, before I see what you speak of, the tyranny of a George the Sixth, or of a Cromwell; and it may be that I want philosophy in interesting myself in political disquisitions, in apprehending what may never happen; but I conceive that I am to live in society in another state, and

and a sober attachment to theoretic principles of political truth cannot be an improper ingredient in a social character, either in this world or in the next.

HIS BISHOPRIC.

The Duke of Grafton then told me that the Bishop of Landaff (Barrington) would probably be translated to the See of Salisbury, which had become vacant a few days before the death of Lord Rockingham, and that he had asked Lord Shelburne, who had been appointed First Lord of the Treasury, to permit me to succeed to the bishopric of Landaff. This unsolicited kindness of the Duke of Grafton gratified my feelings very much, for my spirit of independence was ever too high for my circumstances.—Lord Shelburne, the Duke informed me, seemed very well disposed towards me, but would not suffer him to write to me; and he had asked the Duke whether he thought the appointment would be agreeable to the Duke of Rutland. Notwithstanding this hint, I could not bring myself to write to the Duke of Rutland, who had not at that time forsaken the friends of Lord Rockingham. I knew his great regard for me, but I abhorred the idea of pressing a young nobleman to ask a favour of the new minister, which might, in its consequences, sully the purity of his political principles, and be the means of attaching him, without due consideration, to Lord Shelburne's administration. Not that I had any reason to think ill of the new minister: I was personally unacquainted with him, but I was no stranger to the talents he had shown in opposing Lord North's American war; and Lord Rockingham had told me, that Lord Shelburne had behaved very honourably to him in not accepting the Treasury, which the king had offered to him in preference to Lord Rockingham. I mention this circumstance in mere justice to Lord Shelburne; whose constitutional principles, and enlarged views of public policy, rendered him peculiarly fitted to sustain the character of a great statesman in the highest office.

On the 12th of the same month, the Duke of Rutland wrote to me at Yarmouth—that he had determined to support Lord Shelburne's administration, as he had received the most positive assurances, that the independency of America was to be acknowledged, and the wishes of the people relative to a parliamentary reform, granted. He further told me, that the bishopric of Landaff, he had reason to believe, would be dis-

posed of in my favour if he asked it; and desired to know, whether, if the offer should be made, I would accept it. I returned for answer, that I conceived there could be no dishonour in accepting a bishopric from an administration which he had previously determined to support; and that I had expected Lord Shelburne would have given me the bishopric without application; but that, if I must owe it to the interposition of some great man, I had rather owe it to that of His Grace than to any other.

On Sunday, July 21st, I received an express from the Duke of Rutland, informing me that he had seen Lord Shelburne, who had anticipated his wishes, by mentioning me for the vacant bishopric before he had asked it. I kissed hands on the 20th of that month, and was received, as the phrase is, very graciously; this was the first time that I had ever been at St. James's.

In this manner did I acquire a bishopric. But I have no great reason to be proud of the promotion; for I think I owed it not to any regard which he who gave it me had to the zeal and industry with which I had for many years discharged the functions, and fulfilled the duties, of an academic life; but to the opinion which, from my sermon, he had erroneously entertained, that I was a warm, and might become an useful, partisan. Lord Shelburne, indeed, had expressed to the Duke of Grafton his expectation, that I would occasionally write a pamphlet for their administration. The Duke did me justice in assuring him, that he had perfectly mistaken my character; that, though I might write on an abstract question, concerning government or the principles of legislation, it would not be with a view of assisting any administration.

I had written in support of the principles of the Revolution, because I thought those principles useful to the state, and I saw them vilified and neglected; I had taken part with the people in their petitions against the influence of the crown, because I thought that influence would destroy the constitution, and I saw that it was increasing; I had opposed the supporters of the American war, because I thought that war not only to be inexpedient, but unjust. But all this was done from my own sense of things, and without the least view of pleasing any party: I did, however, happen to please a party, and they made me a bishop. I have hitherto followed, and shall continue to follow, my own judgment

ment in all public transactions; all parties now understand this, and it is probable that I may continue to be Bishop of Landaff as long as I live. Be it so. Wealth and power are but secondary objects of pursuit to a thinking man, especially to a thinking Christian.

HIS PLAN OF CHURCH REFORM.

At my first interview with Lord Shelburne, he expressed a desire that we might become well acquainted; and said, that, as he had Dunning to assist him in law points, and Barry in army concerns, he should be happy to consult me in church matters. I determined to make use of this overture as a mean of doing, as I hoped, some service to religion, and to the established church; which, from a most serious and unprejudiced consideration, I had long thought stood in great need of a fundamental reform.

A few days after this first interview, the minister told me, that he had from the first fixed upon me for the bishopric of Landaff. I firmly asked him, why he had not then given it to me, without waiting for the interference of any person? He said, he had given it without being asked by the Duke of Rutland; but he acknowledged that he wanted to please the Duke in the business. I replied, that I supposed every minister was desirous of making a piece of preferment go as far as possible in creating obligations; but that I should have been better pleased had he given me the bishopric at once. I then informed him, that I had something to say to him which required a little leisure to discuss. He appointed a day on which I was to dine with him; and on that day (September 5th, 1782,) I delivered into his hands the following paper, the subjects of which had much engaged my attention before I was a bishop, and I did not think, that by becoming a bishop I ought to change the principles which I had imbibed from the works of Mr. Locke:—

"There are several circumstances respecting the doctrine, the jurisdiction, and the revenue of the church of England, which would probably admit a temporary reform. If it should be thought right to attempt making a change in any of them, it seems most expedient to begin with the revenue.

"The two following hints on that subject may not be undeserving Your Lordship's consideration:—First, A bill to render the bishoprics more equal to each other, both with respect to income and

patronage; by annexing, as the richer bishoprics become vacant, a part of their revenues, and a part of their patronage, to the poorer. By a bill of this kind, the bishops would be freed from the necessity of holding ecclesiastical presents, *in commendam*,—a practice which bears hard on the rights of the inferior clergy. Another probable consequence of such a bill would be, a longer residence of the bishops in their several dioceses; from which the best consequences, both to religion, the morality of the people, and to the true credit of the church, might be expected; for the two great inducements, to wish for translations, and consequently to reside in London, namely, superiority of income, and excellency of patronage, would in a great measure be removed.

"Second, A bill for appropriating, as they become vacant, an half, or a third part, of the income of every deanery, prebend, or canonry, of the churches of Westminster, Windsor, Canterbury, Christ Church, Worcester, Durham, Ely, Norwich, &c. to the same purposes, *mutatis mutandis*, as the first fruits and tenths were appropriated by Queen Anne. By a bill of this kind, a decent provision would be made for the inferior clergy, in a third or fourth part of the time which Queen Anne's bounty alone will require to effect. A decent provision being once made for every officiating minister in the church, the residence of the clergy on their cures might more reasonably be required, than it can be at present, and the licence of holding more livings than one, be restricted."

THE COALITION MINISTRY.

After the death of Lord Rockingham, the King had appointed Lord Shelburne to the treasury, without the knowledge, at least without waiting for the recommendation, of the cabinet. This exertion of the prerogative being contrary to the manner in which government had been carried on during the reigns of George the First and Second by the great Whig families of the country, and differences also having happened between Lord Shelburne, and some of the principal members of the cabinet, even during the life-time of Lord Rockingham, many of them resigned their situations on his being made prime minister, and united with Lord North and his friends to force him from his office. From the moment this coalition was formed between Lord North, and the men who had for many years reprobated, in the strongest terms, his political principles, I lost all confidence

dence in public men. I had, through life, been a strenuous supporter of the principles of the revolution, and had attached myself, in some degree, to that party which professed to act upon them: but in their coalescing with the Tories to turn out Lord Shelburne, they destroyed my opinion of their disinterestedness and integrity. I clearly saw that they sacrificed their public principles to private pique, and their honour to their ambition. The badness of the peace, and the supposed danger of trusting power in the hands of Lord Shelburne, were the reasons publicly given for the necessity of forming the coalition: personal dislike of him, and a desire to be in power themselves, were, in my judgment, the real ones. This dissension of the Whigs has done more injury to the constitution, than all the violent attacks on the liberty of the subject which were subsequently made during Mr. Pitt's administration. The restriction of the liberty of the press, the long continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Sedition Bills, and other infringements of the Bill of Rights, were, from the turbulent circumstances of the times, esteemed by many quite salutary and necessary measures: but the apostacy from principle in the coalition ministry, ruined the confidence of the country, and left it without hope of soon seeing another respectable opposition on constitutional grounds; and it stamped on the hearts of millions an impression which will never be effaced, that Patriotism is a scandalous game, played by public men for private ends, and frequently little better than a selfish struggle for power. This unfortunate, may it not be called unprincipled, junction with Lord North, gave great offence to many of the warmest friends of the late Lord Rockingham, and, amongst others, to myself; and I made no scruple of expressing my opinion of it. This, as I expected, was taken very ill by my former friends. It is a principle with all parties to require from their adherents an implicit approbation of all their measures; my spirit was ever too high to submit to such a disgraceful bond of political connexion. I thought it, moreover, a duty which every man, capable of forming a judgment, owed to himself and to his country, to divest himself of all party attachment in public transactions: the best partisans are men of great talents, without principle; or men of no talents, with a principle of implicit attachment to particular men. To forget all benefits, and to conceal

the remembrance of all injuries, are maxims by which political men lose their honour, but make their fortunes.

The Whig part of the coalition ministry which was formed in April, 1783, forced themselves into the king's service. His Majesty had shewn the greatest reluctance to treating with them. Their enemies said, and their adherents suspected, that if poverty had not pressed hard upon some of them, they would not, for the good of their country, have overlooked the indignities which had been shown them by the court; they would have declined accepting places, when they perfectly knew that their services were unacceptable to the king.

They did, however, accept; and, on the day they kissed hands, I told Lord John Cavendish (who had reluctantly joined the coalition) that they had two things against them, the closet and the country; that the king hated them, and would take the first opportunity of turning them out; and that the coalition would make the country hate them. Lord John was aware of the opposition they would have from the closet, but he entertained no suspicion of the country being disgusted at the coalition. The event, however, of the general election, in which the Whig interest was almost every where unsuccessful, and Lord John himself turned out at York, proved that my foresight was well founded. It is a great happiness in our constitution, that, when the aristocratic parties in the houses of parliament flagrantly deviate from principles of honour, in order to support their respective interests, there is integrity enough still remaining in the mass of the people, to counteract the mischief of such selfishness or ambition.

THE TEST ACT.

On the 10th of Feb. following, a meeting of the bishops was convened at the Bounty-office, on a summons from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and at the instance, as we were given to understand, of Mr. Pitt, who wanted to know the sentiments of the bench relative to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The question proposed at the meeting was put thus:—"Ought the Test and Corporation Acts to be maintained?" I was the junior bishop, and, as such, was called upon to deliver my opinion first, which I did in the negative. The only bishop who voted with me was Bishop Shipley. The then Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of Worcester, Lincoln, Ely, Peterborough, Norwich, Exeter, Bangor, Bath

Bath and Wells, Rochester, and Lichfield, voted that the acts ought to be maintained. When the question was thus decided, that my brethren might see I was not sorry to be known to have voted as I had done, I moved, that not only the result of the meeting, but that the names of those who had voted for and against the maintenance of the acts, should be sent to Mr. Pitt; and the motion was passed unanimously.

The question for the repeal of the acts was then lost in the Commons, by a majority of 78 — 178 : 109. It was again brought forward in 1789, and was again lost by a majority of 20 — 122 : 102. This small majority encouraged the Dissenters to bring it forward again in 1790; but the cry of the church's danger began to be raised, and meetings were held by some alarmed clergymen, principally in dioceses of York and Chester, and the question was lost by a majority of 195 — 299 : 105. In a conversation I then had with Lord Camden, President of the Council, I plainly asked him if he foresaw any danger likely to result to the church establishment, from the repeal of the Test Act: he answered, at once, none whatever. On my urging the policy of conciliating the Dissenters by granting their petition, his answer made a great impression on my mind, as it shewed the principle on which great statesmen sometimes condescend to act. It was this:—Pitt was wrong in refusing the former application of the Dissenters, but he must be now supported.

POLITICAL INTEGRITY.

I could not bring myself to vote as a minister bade me on all occasions, and I perceived that such was the temper of the times, or such was the temper of the man (Pitt), nothing less than that would secure his attention. I saw this to be the case then, and I then and at all times disdained complying with principles of government so abominably corrupt. I once talked a little to the first Lord Camden on this subject; and he plainly told me, I had better go to Cambridge and employ myself in writing books, than pretend to follow my own judgment in political matters: that he never knew any man who had attempted to do it, except one very honest man, who was little valued by any party,—Sir Joseph Jekyll.

PITT'S HONOUR.

About a month before the death of the Bishop of Carlisle, a relation of Sir James Lowther had preached the com-

mencement-sermon, at Cambridge. Mr. Pitt happened to sit next to me at church, and asked me the name of the preacher, not much approving his performance. I told him, report said he was to be the future Bishop of Carlisle; and I begged him to have some respect to the dignity of the bench, whenever a vacancy happened. He assured me that he knew nothing of any such arrangement. Within two months after this, Sir James Lowther applied to Mr. Pitt for the bishopric of Carlisle for the gentleman whom he had heard preach, and Mr. Pitt, without the least hesitation, promised it. This was one of the many transactions which gave me an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Pitt: I saw that he was ready to sacrifice things the most sacred to the furtherance of his ambition. The gentleman, much to his honour, declined the acceptance of the bishopric, which Mr. Pitt, with true ministerial policy, had offered him.

ROYAL OPINIONS.

Though levee-conversations are but silly things in themselves, and the silliest of all possible things when repeated, yet I must mentioned what happened to myself at the king's levee, in November, 1787. I was standing next to a Venetian Nobleman; the king was conversing with him about the republic of Venice, and, hastily turning to me, said, "There, now, you hear what he says of a republic." My answer was, "Sir, I look upon a republic to be one of the worst forms of government." The king gave me, as he thought, another blow about a republic. I answered, that I could not live under a republic. His Majesty still pursued the subject; I thought myself insulted, and firmly said, "Sir, I look upon the tyranny of any one man to be an intolerable evil, and upon the tyranny of an hundred to be an hundred times as bad." The king went off. His Majesty, I doubt not, had given credit to the calumnies which the court-insects had buzzed into his ears, of my being a favourer of republican principles, because I was known to be a supporter of revolution principles, and had a pleasure in letting me see what he thought of me. This was not quite fair in the king, especially as there is not a word in any of my writings in favour of a republic, and as I had desired Lord Shelburne, before I accepted the bishopric, to assure His Majesty, of my supreme veneration for the constitution. If he thought that, in giving such assurance, I stooped to tell a lie for the sake of a bishopric, His Majesty formed an erroneous

erroneous opinion of my principles. But the reign of George the Third was the triumph of toryism. The Whigs had power for a moment, they quarrelled amongst themselves, and thereby lost the king's confidence, lost the people's confidence, and lost their power for ever; or, to speak more philosophically, there was neither whigism nor toryism left; excess of riches, and excess of taxes, combined with excess of luxury, had introduced universal selfism.

THURLOW.

The Chancellor, in his reply, boldly asserted that he perfectly well remembered the passage I had quoted from *Grotius*, and that it solely respected natural, but was inapplicable to civil rights. Lord Loughborough, the first time I saw him after the debate, assured me, that before he went to sleep that night he had looked into *Grotius*, and was astonished to find that the Chancellor, in contradicting me, had presumed on the ignorance of the house, and that my quotation was perfectly correct.—What miserable shifts do great men submit to in supporting their parties! The Chancellor Thurlow was an able and upright judge, but as the Speaker of the House of Lords he was domineering and insincere. It was said of him, that in the Cabinet, he opposed every thing, proposed nothing, and was ready to support any thing. I remember Lord Camden's saying to me one night, when the Chancellor was speaking contrary, as I thought, to his own conviction, "There now, I could not do that, he is supporting what he does not believe a word of."

QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

The restoration of the king's health soon followed. It was the artifice of the minister to represent all those who had opposed his measures, as enemies to the King; and the Queen lost, in the opinion of many, the character which she had hitherto maintained in the country, by falling in with the designs of the minister. She imprudently distinguished, by different degrees of courtesy on the one hand, and by meditated affronts on the other, those who had voted with, and those who had voted against the minister, insomuch that the Duke of Northumberland one day said to me, "So, my Lord, you and I also are become traitors."

She received me at the drawing-room, which was held on the King's recovery, with a degree of coldness: which would have appeared to herself ridiculous and ill placed, could she have imagined how

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little a mind such as mine regarded, in its honourable proceedings, the displeasure of a woman, though that woman happened to be a queen.

The Prince of Wales, who was standing near her, then asked me to dine with him, and, on my making some objection to dining at Carlton-House, he turned to Sir Thomas Dundas, and desired him to give us a dinner at his house, on the following Saturday. Before we sat down to dinner on that day, the Prince took me aside, explained to me the principle on which he had acted during the whole of the King's illness, and spoke to me, with an afflicted feeling, of the manner in which the Queen had treated himself. I must do him the justice to say, that he spoke, in this conference, in as sensible a manner as could possibly have been expected from an heir apparent to the throne, and from a son of the best principles towards both his parents. I advised him to persevere in dutifully bearing with his mother's ill humour, till time and her own good sense should disentangle her from the web which ministerial cunning had thrown around her.

Having thought well of the Queen, I was willing to attribute her conduct, during the agitation of the Regency question, to her apprehensions of the King's safety, to the misrepresentations of the King's minister, to any thing rather than to a fondness for power.

Before we rose from table at Sir Thomas Dundas's, where the Duke of York and a large company were assembled, the conversation turning on parties, I happened to say, that I was sick of parties, and should retire from all public concerns—"No," said the Prince, "and mind who it is that tells you so, you shall never retire; a man of your talents shall never be lost to the public."—I have now lived many years in retirement, and, in my seventy-fifth year, I feel no wish to live otherwise.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

The Windsor anecdote was told me by the late Dr. Heberden:—The clergyman there, on a day when the Athanasian Creed was to be read, began with "Whosoever will be saved," &c. ; the King, who usually responded with a loud voice, was silent; the minister repeated, in an higher tone, his "Whosoever," the King continued silent; at length the Apostle's Creed was repeated by the minister, and the King followed him throughout with a distinct and audible voice.

I certainly dislike the imposition of all creeds

creeds formed by human authority; though I do not dislike them as useful summaries of what their compilers believe to be true, either in natural or revealed religion.

As to natural religion, the creeds of the most distinguished philosophers, from Plato and Cicero to Leibnitz and Clarke, are extremely various, with respect to the origin of things—the existence and attributes, natural and moral, of the Supreme Being—the natural mortality or immortality of the human soul—the liberty and necessity of human actions—the principle of virtue, and other important points. And, as to revealed religion, though all its doctrines are expressed in one book, yet such a diversity of interpretations has been given to the same passages of Scripture, that not only individuals, but whole churches, have formed to themselves different creeds, and introduced them into their forms of worship. The Greek church admits not into its ritual either the Apostle's Creed, or the Athanasian Creed, but the Nicene. The Episcopal church in America, admits the Nicene and the Apostle's Creed, but rejects the Athanasian. The church of England admits the whole three into its Liturgy; and some of the foreign Protestant churches admit none but the Apostle's. These, and other creeds which might be mentioned, are all of human fabrication; they oblige conscience, as far as they are conformable to Scripture, and of that conformity every man must judge for himself. This liberty of private judgment is recognised by our church (notwithstanding subscription to the thirty-nine articles) when, in the service for the ordering of priests, it proposes this question:—"Are you determined, out of the said Scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures?"

THE DISSENTERS.

The Dissenters are neither tories nor republicans, but friends to the principles of the revolution. Notwithstanding the virulence of Mr. Burke's invective against him, I give entire credit to what Dr. Price has said of himself and of the Dissenters, in the following extract from his Sermon, preached, April 1787, before the supporters of a new academical institution among Protestant Dissenters:—"I cannot help taking this opportunity to

remove a very groundless suspicion with respect to myself, by adding, that, so far am I from preferring a government purely republican, that I look upon our own constitution of government as better adapted than any other to this country, and in theory excellent. I have said in theory, for, in consequence of the increase of corruption, and the miserable inadequateness of our representation, it is chiefly the theory and form of our constitution that we possess; and this I reckon our first, and worst, and greatest grievance. What I say of myself, I believe to be true of the whole body of British subjects among Protestant Dissenters. I know not one among them who would not tremble at the thought of changing into a democracy our mixed form of government, or who has any other wish with respect to it, than to restore it to purity and vigour, by removing the defects in our representation, and establishing that independence of the three states on one another, in which its essence consists."

But it may be said that I have not stated the whole question, inasmuch as the Dissenters are enemies to the church establishment, and that the state is so allied to the church, that he who is unfriendly to the one, must wish the subversion of both. I think this reasoning is not just: a man may certainly wish for a change in an ecclesiastical establishment, without wishing for a change in the civil constitution of a country. An episcopalian, for instance, may wish to see bishops established in all Scotland, without wishing Scotland to become a republic; and he may wish that episcopacy may be established in all the American states, without wishing that monarchy may be established in any of them. The protection of life, liberty, and property, is not inseparably or exclusively connected with any particular form of church-government. The blessings of civil society depend upon the proper execution of good laws, and upon the good morals of the people; but no one will attempt to prove, that the laws and morals of the people may not be as good in Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, under a Presbyterian, as in England or France under an episcopal form of church-government.

TITHES.

In January 1799, I received from the Archbishop of Canterbury, a paper which had been sent to him by Mr. Pitt, and was desired to deliver my opinion on the subject. The paper contained a plan for the sale of the tithe of the country,

try, on the same principle that the land-tax had been offered for sale in the preceding session of parliament. It was proposed, that the money arising from the sale of the tithe should be vested in the funds in aid of public credit, and the clergy were to receive their income from the funds; the income, however, was not to be a fixed income, which could never be augmented, but was to be so adjusted as, at different periods, to admit an increase according to the advance in the price of grain. This plan was not introduced into parliament: it met, I believe, with private opposition from the bishops, though I own it had my approbation; but that approbation was founded on very different principles from that of aiding public credit; I did not indeed clearly see how, if the full value was given for the tithe, that credit would be assisted thereby. I remember having said to Mr. Arthur Young, on the occasion, that I, for one, never would give my consent, and that I thought the houses of parliament never would give theirs to the sale of the tithe, unless its full value was paid for it: "Then," said he, "there is an end of the whole business: for, unless the people in the west, who are now most clamorous against tithe, are allowed to purchase at the price they now pay by composition, they will, on their knees, beg Mr. Pitt to let things continue as they are." I sent to the Archbishop the following observations on the proposed plan, to be communicated to Mr. Pitt:—

"The Bishop of Landaff is of opinion, that an income arising from the funds will neither be so permanently secure, nor so independent, as one arising from tithe.

"He is further of opinion, that the proposed change will much augment the influence of the crown; which augmentation, he conceives, will be ultimately ruinous alike to the just prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the subject.

"Notwithstanding these distant and contingent dangers, he approves of the plan, on the ground of its tendency to amend the morals of the people, by extinguishing the discontents often subsisting between the clergy and their parishioners, on account of tithes, and on the principle of its promoting the agriculture of the kingdom.

"He considers the particulars of the plan as well arranged in general; but he thinks that a fair valuation of the great

and small tithes of each living should be made by proper commissioners; apprehending that the mode adopted, when enclosures are made, is not applicable to lands now in tillage, and destitute of commons.

"He does not see that the abolition of tithes, on the enclosures of commons, (*in futuro*), is taken into consideration.

"He wishes that some provision might be made for the recovery of tithes which are now due by law, though the right to them may not, for various reasons, have yet been prosecuted.

"He is desirous that the following points may be ascertained, before the measure is submitted to parliament:—

"1st, What number of parishes in the kingdom are now entirely exempted from the tithe of corn and hay?

"2d, In what number of parishes, subject to the afore-mentioned tithes, are the tithes in the possession of the parochial clergy?

"3d, In what number of parishes, subject to the afore-mentioned tithes, are the tithes in the possession of spiritual or lay corporations?"

OAK TIMBER.

In a book now before me, entitled,—"Planting and Ornamental Gardening," published by Dodsley in 1785, it is said, (p. 499), that a seventy-four gun ship takes two thousand trees of two tons each, and, supposing forty such trees growing on an acre, clears fifty acres of woodland. This may be so, but the observation does not extend far enough. Admitting, however, this to be a fact, and supposing that the navy, for the construction of new ships, and the repair of old ones, would require ten times that quantity annually, 500 acres would supply the annual consumption, and fifty thousand acres would supply the demand for ever, if trees of one hundred years' growth are large enough for navy timber.

The way of ascertaining the real annual consumption of oak-timber in ship-building, seems to be, first to ascertain (I suppose from the Custom-house books) the number of tons of British shipping of all kinds, annually employed in Great Britain; next to derive, from the information of different ship-builders, the quantity of oak used per ton in ship-building, on an average of all sorts of ships: from these two sources of information, a proper inference may be drawn, ascertaining the quantity of oak used in the construction of all the shipping now in

in Great Britain, which being divided by the number of years which such shipping will on an average last, we shall then know the quantity annually wanted to keep us in *statu quo* for ever.

An oak coppice is, with us, worth twenty pounds a statute acre, at fifteen years' growth; supposing money to double itself in fifteen years at compound interest of 5*l.* per cent., and every succeeding fall to be of the same value as the first, then, in seven falls, or in 105 years, an acre would produce 2540*l.*, a sum so exceedingly surpassing the value of 40 trees of 105 years' growth, even with taking into consideration the value of the underwood whilst any remained, that the comparison need not be instituted, if profit is solely attended to in the management of woods.

I this year sold a customary acre (6760 square yards) of oak, of 29 years' growth, from an old stub, for 126*l.* and left standing 260 of the best trees, the value of which I estimate at 40*l.* so that the clear value of this coppice may be put at 166*l.* If we trace this sum, even supposing that the stub did not shoot out again, and that the whole had been cut, it will appear that in 75 years (that is in 104 years' growth), it will, at a compound interest of 5*l.* per cent. amount to 6446*l.*

Evelyn gives some instances of the value of oak woods at different periods of their growth, in order to show the advantage of letting them stand till a great age, but he has forgotten to take into consideration the increase of the money at compound interest, which they were worth when first valued, compared with what they were worth at the second valuation.

THE QUEEN AND FREYLINGHANSEN.

In October 1804, a German treatise in divinity, by Anastatius Freylinghansen, was published in English with great parade, by order of Her Majesty, and supervised by the Bishop of London.

Mr. Freylinghansen was, I question not, a learned and orthodox divine, but he appears to me to have been a very poor metaphysician. He staggered me in his first page, by speaking of our natural knowledge of God as being *implanted* in us, notwithstanding all that Mr. Locke had said upon the subject in the first book of his *Essay on the Human Understanding*; and he hobbles in the second and several succeeding pages, in such a manner, as no one who had distinct notions of metaphysical reasoning, con-

cerning the existence of God and his attributes, could, I think, have possibly done.

All that kind of discussion has been more clearly and more deeply handled by Clarke, Locke, Whitby, Abernethy, Knight, &c. than by this German. The book is systematical, and on that account may be of use as an elementary book; but I have not the same notion of the utility of elementary books in theology which many persons entertain. Elementary books in geometry, algebra, &c. exhibit to us an indissoluble concatenation of intuitive or demonstrated truths; but elementary books in theology give us a concatenation, perhaps, but it is more frequently a concatenation of conjectures than of truths.

Let any man fill his head with a persuasion, that he understands what is meant by the image of God; that Adam had original righteousness; that he was a federal head, &c., and it will not be easy to enumerate the series of truths (conjectures they ought to be called, and absolute errors they may be,) which will follow as legitimate corollaries from such assumed principles.

What are the catechisms of the Romish church, of the English church, of the Scotch church, and of all other churches, but a set of propositions which men of different natural capacities, educations, prejudices, have fabricated (sometimes on the anvil of sincerity, oftener on that of ignorance, interest, or hypocrisy,) from the divine materials furnished by the Bible? And can any man of an enlarged charity believe, that his salvation will ultimately depend on a concurrence in opinion with any of these niceties, which the several sects of Christians have assumed as essentially necessary for a Christian man's belief? Oh, no! Christianity is not a speculative business. One good act performed from a principle of obedience to the declared will of God, will be of more service to every individual, than all the speculative theology of St. Augustin, or Anastatius Freylinghansen.

All the subjects it treats of have been handled with great precision by Curcelænus, Turretin, Episcopius, Limborch, and a great many other foreign divines; and very distinctly, though not systematically, by our own. This want of system in our writers may have given this German book a great estimation in the judgment of Her Majesty, in preference to those of our own country, which it cannot

cannot be expected she should be much acquainted with.

COURSE OF EDUCATION.

The virtuous education of our offspring, and especially of an offspring which by its rank may influence the morals of a country, is one of the most important duties of life. The happiness or misery, not merely of an individual, but of the world, depends upon the good or bad morals of its inhabitants; and the morals of men chiefly depend on the principles of action which are impressed on the minds of children. If your son should in future turn out ill, you will have the comfort of knowing that you have not to reproach yourself with having neglected his education; if well, you may justly attribute some merit to your own foresight, and assiduity in the conduct of his education.

By religious instruction, I do not mean that he should at his time of life, or indeed at any time of life, be occupied in theological controversy, or perplexed in estimating the worth of the several systems of faith with which the Christian world has unhappily been every where oppressed; but that he should be habituated to consider the Gospels as containing a rule of life, which no propensities of sense, no fashion of the world, no licentious conversation of infidel companions, should ever induce him to disparage or neglect. It is a state which, if believed with sincerity, and followed with firmness, will lead him, and us all in every situation, and in every vicissitude of fortune, to tranquillity of mind in this first scene of our existence, and to the perfection of our being in all succeeding scenes. I do not mean to preach to you; but I am so convinced of the truth and importance of what I have written, that I could not forbear touching on the subject.

You very properly wish your young man to write and to speak good English. The best means of acquiring that qualification, is to converse with the best company, to read the best written books, and to translate some of the fine passages of the ancients. But, as all this cannot be expected from a youth of his age, I will mention only two books, with which if he becomes familiar, his language will insensibly become elegant and strong. "Middleton's Life of Cicero," and "Plutarch's Lives," by Langhorne. The language of both is good, and of the first excellent. I mention these books not in preference to Addison, Swift, &c. On account of language, but because the

perusal of them will carry on his classical education; and inspire him with the noble sentiments of some of the greatest men the world has ever seen. There is another book most admirably fitted to form the taste of a young man in classical literature, to instruct him in a great variety of useful knowledge, to imbue his mind with proper principles, and to give him a turn for such studies and acquirements, as are peculiarly ornamental to every gentleman, and not unworthy the attention of a man of rank—Rollin's "Belles Lettres." I am strengthened in my good opinion of this work, by knowing how greatly it was esteemed by Bishop Atterbury, one of the politest scholars of his age. It may be proper to read this book in the translation, (the third edition of which was published in 1742,) rather than in the original French, because the English is not deficient in correctness and perspicuity. As to translating in order to form a copious and nervous style, nothing can be more proper; the practice is recommended by Cicero and Quintilian, and I dare say is not unknown to your son. The Etonian Greek and Latin Selecta have been probably put into his hands at Harrow for that purpose. It will be of use to him to compare his own performances in that way with those of approved translations, and Pliny's Letters, translated by Melmoth, is a book well fitted for that end; especially as the perusal of the Letters themselves will afford him pleasure and instruction of various kinds: the 97th Letter of the tenth book, is a noble proof of the good morals of the Christians in the first age.

Nothing great can be done in classics, in science, in politics, in any thing, without incessant industry, and our manners are against the use of it. Boys too soon cease to be boys, and for that reason they continue boys in intellect all their days. This, as Johnson would have called it, precocity of manners we have imported, with other mischiefs, from France. I look upon Euclid as the best possible logic, and I shall think two months of your young man's time excellently spent in being able to demonstrate, at sight of the scheme, every proposition in the first book; and, if he never went further in mathematics, he would have acquired the habit of clear reasoning and attentive reading. If Dr. Maltby can do this for him, not in a superficial, but in a true fundamental, manner, he will render him a great service; for, in mathematics, and in every other

other literary pursuit, a little knowledge perfectly attained is preferable to a superficial knowledge of a great deal. When he gets to Cambridge, I think it will be useful to him, in addition to his college lectures, to attend the public courses of Botany, Anatomy, Chemistry, &c. not with a view of making him deeply versed in these matters, but to open his mind by general knowledge, and to keep him from falling into idleness and dissipation.

PITT.

Mr. Pitt's conduct to me had been uniformly unkind, I might justly say ungrateful; but I never bore him any ill will on that account; for I thought it was very probable I had been slandered by persons about him, and I knew that his talents and disinterestedness merited my esteem, and that of every impartial man. Dr. Price said of Lord North that "he doubled a national debt before too heavy to be endured; and let future generations rise up, and if possible call him—BLESSED!"—What would he have said, had he lived to see the state of the debt at the death of Mr. Pitt? Lord North's American war rendered it difficult for a man of five hundred pounds a-year, to support the station of a gentleman, and Mr. Pitt's French war has rendered it impossible.

HIS DISGRACE AT COURT.

The Bishop of St. Asaph died unexpectedly in October 1806. It was very generally imagined that I should have been translated to that see; and that I might not furnish the minister (Lord Grenville) with the excuse for passing me by—that I had not asked for it,—I got a common friend to inform him, that, on account of my northern connexions, the bishopric of St. Asaph would be peculiarly acceptable to myself. It was given to the Bishop of Bangor, and the bishopric of Bangor was given to the Bishop of Oxford.

I cannot truly say, that I was wholly insensible to these and to many similar arrangements, by which I had been for so many years neglected, and exhibited to the world as a marked man fallen under royal displeasure; but I can say, that neither was the tranquillity of my mind disturbed, nor my adherence to the principles of the revolution shaken, nor my attachment to the house of Brunswick, acting on these principles, lessened thereby.

I knew that I possessed not the talents of adulation, intrigue, and versatility of principle, by which laymen, as well as

churchmen, usually in courts ascend the ladder of ambition. I knew this, and I remained without repining, at the bottom of it.

HIS DEATH.

From October 1813, the health of the Bishop of Landaff rapidly declined; bodily exertion became extremely irksome to him; and, though his mental faculties continued unimpaired, yet he cautiously refrained from every species of literary composition. The example of the Archbishop of Toledo was often before him, and the determination, as frequently expressed, that his own prudence should exempt him from the admonition of a *Gil Blas*.

He expired on the 4th of July, 1816, in the 79th year of his age; illustrating in death the truth of his favourite rule of conduct through life, "Keep innocence, and take heed unto the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last."

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

TRAVELS

TO THE

EQUINOCTIAL REGIONS

OF

THE NEW CONTINENT,

During the Years 1799-1804,

BY ALEXANDER DE HUMBOLDT,
AND AIMÉ BONPLAND;

WITH MAPS, PLANS, &c.

Written in French

BY ALEXANDER DE HUMBOLDT,

And translated into English

BY HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS.

VOL. III.

EARTHQUAKE AT CUMANA.

FROM the 28th of October to the 3d of November, the reddish fog was thicker than it had yet been. The heat of the night seemed stifling, though the thermometer rose only to 26°. The breeze, which generally cooled the air from eight or nine o'clock in the evening, was no longer felt. The atmosphere appeared as if it were on fire. The ground, parched and dusty, was cracked on every side. On the fourth of November, about two in the afternoon, large clouds, of an extraordinary blackness, enveloped the high mountains of the Brigantine and Tataraqual. They extended, by degrees, as far as the zenith. About four in the afternoon, thunder was heard over our heads, but at an immense

mense height, without rolling, and with a hoarse and often interrupted sound. At the moment of the strongest electric explosion, at 4h. 12m. there were two shocks of an earthquake, which followed at fifteen seconds distance from each other. The people in the streets filled the air with their cries. Mr. Bonpland, who was leaning over a table examining plants, was almost thrown on the floor. I felt the shock very strongly, though I was lying in a hammock. Its direction was from north to south, which is rare at Cumana. Slaves, who were drawing water from a well, more than eighteen or twenty feet deep, near the river Manzanares, heard a noise like the explosion of a strong charge of gunpowder. The noise seemed to come from the bottom of the well, a very singular phenomenon, though very common in the greater part of the countries of America exposed to earthquakes.

A few minutes before the first shock, there was a very violent blast of wind, followed by an electrical rain, in great drops. I immediately tried the atmospheric electricity by the electrometer of Volta. The small balls separated four lines; the electricity often changed from positive to negative, as is the case during storms; and, in the north of Europe, even sometimes in a fall of snow. The sky remained cloudy, and the blast of wind was followed by a dead calm, which lasted all night. The setting of the sun presented a scene of extraordinary magnificence. The thick veil of the clouds was rent asunder as in shreds, quite near the horizon: the sun appeared at 12 degrees of altitude, on a firmament of indigo-blue. Its disk was enormously enlarged, distorted, and undulated toward the edges. The clouds were gilded; and fasciculi of divergent rays, which reflected the most brilliant colours of the rainbow, extended even to the midst of the heavens. There was a great crowd in the public square. This phenomenon, the earthquake, the clap of thunder which had accompanied it, the red vapour seen during so many days, all was regarded as the effect of the eclipse.

About nine in the evening there was a third shock, much slighter than the former two, but attended evidently with a subterraneous noise. The barometer was a little lower than usual; but the progress of the horary variations or small atmospheric tides, was no way interrupted. The mercury was precisely at the minimum of height at the moment of the

earthquake; it continued rising till eleven in the evening, and sunk again till half after four in the morning, conformably to the law which regulates the barometrical variations. In the night between the 3d and 4th of November, the reddish vapour was so thick, that I could not distinguish the place of the moon, except by a beautiful halo of 20° diameter.

It was scarcely twenty-two months since the town of Cumana had been almost totally destroyed by an earthquake. The people look on the vapours which darken the horizon, and the failure of the breeze during the night, as prognostics infallibly disastrous. We had frequent visits from persons, who wished to know if our instruments indicated new shocks for the next day. The inquietude was particularly great and general, when on the 5th of November, exactly at the same hour as the preceding day, there was a violent gust of wind, attended by thunder, and a few drops of rain. No shock was felt. The wind and storm returned for five or six days at the same hour, almost at the same minute. The inhabitants of Cumana, and of many other places between the tropics, have long ago, made the observation, that those atmospheric changes, which appear the most accidental, follow for whole weeks a certain type with astonishing regularity. The same phenomenon exists in summer, under the temperate zone; nor has it escaped the sagacity of astronomers, who often see clouds form in a serene sky, during three or four days together, at the same part of the firmament, take the same direction, and dissolve at the same height; sometimes before, sometimes after, the passage of a star over the meridian, consequently within a few minutes of the same point of apparent time.*

The earthquake of the 4th of November, the first I had felt, made so much the more lively an impression on me, as it was accompanied with remarkable meteorological variations. It was, moreover, a real lifting-up, and not a shock by undulations. I did not then imagine, that, after a long abode on the table-lands of Quito, and the coasts of Peru, I should become almost as familiar with the abrupt movements of

* Mr. Arago and I paid a great deal of attention to this phenomenon during a long series of observations made in the years 1809 and 1810, at the Observatory at Paris, to verify the declination of the stars.

the ground, as we are in Europe with the noise of thunder. We did not think of rising at night, in the city of Quito, when subterraneous rumblings (*bramidos*), which seem always to come from the volcano of Pichincha, announced, (two or three, and sometimes seven or eight minutes beforehand) a shock; the force of which is seldom in proportion to the intensity of the noise. The carelessness of the inhabitants, who recollect that, for three centuries past, their city has not been overwhelmed, communicates itself easily to the least intrepid traveller. In general, it is not so much the fear of the danger, as the novelty of the sensation, that strikes so forcibly, when the effect of the slightest earthquake is felt for the first time.

From our infancy, the idea of certain contrasts fixes itself in our minds: water appears to us an element that moves; earth, a motionless and inert mass. These ideas are the effect of daily experience; they are connected with every thing that is transmitted to us by the senses. When a shock is felt, when the earth is shaken on its old foundations, which we had deemed so stable, one instant is sufficient to destroy long illusions. It is like awakening from a dream; but a painful awakening. We feel, that we have been deceived by the apparent calm of nature; we become attentive to the least noise: we mistrust, for the first time, a soil on which we had so long placed our feet with confidence. If the shocks be repeated, if they become frequent during several successive days, the uncertainty quickly disappears. In 1784, the inhabitants of Mexico were accustomed to bear the thunder roll beneath their feet, as it is heard by us in the region of the clouds. Confidence easily springs up in the human breast, and we end by accustoming ourselves on the coast of Peru to the undulations of the ground, like the sailor to the tossings of the ship, caused by the motion of the waves.

METEORS.

The night of the 11th of November, was cool and extremely beautiful. Toward the morning, from half after two, the most extraordinary luminous meteors were seen towards the east. Mr. Bonpland, who had risen to enjoy the freshness of the air in the gallery, perceived them first. Thousands of bolides and falling stars, succeeded each other during four hours. Their direction was very regularly from north to south. They filled a space in the sky extending from

the true east 30° toward the north and south. In an amplitude of 60° the meteors were seen to rise above the horizon at E.N.E., and at E. describe arcs more or less extended, and fall toward the south, after having followed the direction of the meridian. Some of them attained a height of 40° , and all exceeded 25° or 30° . There was very little wind in the low regions of the atmosphere, and this blew from the east. No trace of clouds was to be seen. Mr. Bonpland relates, that from the beginning of the phenomenon, there was not a space in the firmament equal in extent to three diameters of the moon, that was not filled at every instant with bolides and falling stars. The first were fewer in number, but as they were seen of different sizes, it was impossible to fix the limit between these two classes of phenomena. All these meteors left luminous traces from five to ten degrees in length, as often happens in the equinoctial regions. The phosphorescence of these traces, or luminous bands, lasted seven or eight seconds. Many of the falling stars had a very distinct nucleus, as large as the disk of Jupiter, from which darted sparks of vivid light. The bolides seem to burst as by explosion; but the largest, those from 1° to $1^{\circ} 15'$ in diameter, disappeared without scintillation, leaving behind them phosphorescent bands (*trabes*) exceeding in breadth fifteen or twenty minutes. The light of these meteors was white, and not reddish, which must be attributed, no doubt, to the absence of vapours, and the extreme transparency of the air. For the same reason, under the tropics, the stars of the first magnitude have at their rising, a light evidently whiter than in Europe.

Almost all the inhabitants of Cumana were witnesses of this phenomenon, because they leave their houses before four o'clock, to attend the first morning mass. They did not behold these bolides with indifference; the oldest among them remembered, that the great earthquakes of 1766, were preceded by similar phenomena. The Guaiqueries in the Indian suburb, came out and asserted, "that the fire-work had begun at one o'clock; and that as they returned from fishing in the Gulf, they had already perceived very small falling stars toward the east." They affirmed at the same time, that igneous meteors were extremely rare on those coasts after two in the morning.

The phenomenon ceased by degrees after four o'clock, and the bolides and falling stars became less frequent; but

we still distinguished some toward the north-east by their whitish light, and the rapidity of their movement, a quarter of an hour after sun-rise. This circumstance will appear less extraordinary, when I bring to the reader's recollection, that in full day-light, in 1788, the interior of the houses in the town of Popayan was brightly illuminated by an aërolite of immense magnitude. It passed over the town when the sun was shining clearly, about one o'clock. Mr. Bonpland and myself, during our second residence at Cumana, after having observed on the 26th of September, 1800, the immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, succeeded in seeing the planet distinctly with the naked eye, eighteen minutes after the disk of the sun had appeared in the horizon. There was a very slight vapour in the east, but Jupiter appeared on an azure sky. These facts prove the extreme purity and transparency of the atmosphere under the torrid zone. The mass of diffused light is so much less, as the vapours are more perfectly dissolved. The same cause, that weakens the diffusion of the solar light, diminishes the extinction of that which emanates either from a *bolis*, Jupiter, or the moon, seen on the second day after her conjunction.

The researches of Mr. Chladni having singularly fixed the attention of the scientific world upon the bolides and falling stars at my departure from Europe, we did not neglect, during the course of our journey from Caraccas to the Rio Negro, to enquire every where, whether the meteors of the 12th of November had been perceived. In a savage country, where the greater number of the inhabitants sleep out in the air, so extraordinary a phenomenon could not fail to be remarked, except when concealed by clouds from the eye of observation. The Capuchin missionary at San Fernando de Apura, a village situate amid the savannahs of the province of Varinas; the Franciscan monks stationed near the cataracts of the Oronoko, and at Maroa, on the banks of the Rio Negro; had seen numberless falling stars and bolides illumine the vault of heaven. Maroa is south-west of Cumana, at one hundred and seventy-four leagues distance. All these observers compared the phenomenon to a beautiful fire-work, which had lasted from three till six in the morning. Some of the monks had marked the day upon their ritual; others had noted it by the nearest festivals of the church. Unfortunately, none of them could recollect the direction of the meteors, or their ap-

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parent height. From the position of the mountains and thick forests, which surround the Missions of the Cataracts and the little village of Maroa, I presume that the bolides were still visible at 20° above the horizon. On my arrival at the southern extremity of Spanish Guiana, at the little fort of San Carlos, I found some Portuguese, who had gone up the Rio Negro from the Mission of St. Joseph of the Marivitains; who assured me, that in that part of Brazil, the phenomenon had been perceived, at least as far as San Gabriel das Cachoeiras, consequently as far as the equator itself.

I was powerfully struck at the immense height, which these bolides must have attained, to have been visible at the same time at Cumana, and on the frontiers of Brazil, in a line of two hundred and thirty leagues in length. But what was my astonishment, when, at my return to Europe, I learnt, that the same phenomenon had been perceived on an extent of the globe of 64° of latitude, and 91° of longitude; at the equator, in South America, at Labrador, and in Germany! I found accidentally during my passage from Philadelphia to Bordeaux (in the Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Society) the corresponding observation of Mr. Ellicott (lat $30^{\circ} 42'$); and, upon my return from Naples to Berlin, I read the account of the Moravian Missionaries among the Eskimaux, in the Bibliothek of Gottingen. Several philosophers had already discussed at this period the coincidence of the observations in the north with those at Cumana, which Mr. Bonpland and I had published in 1800.

The following is a succinct enumeration of facts: 1st, the fiery meteors were seen in the east, and the east-north-east, to 40° of elevation, from 2 h. to 6 h. at Cumana (lat. $10^{\circ} 27' 52''$, long. $66^{\circ} 30'$); at Porto Cabello (lat. $10^{\circ} 6' 52''$, long. $67^{\circ} 5'$); and on the frontiers of Brazil, near the equator, in the longitude of 70° west of the meridian of Paris. 2d, In French Guiana (lat. $4^{\circ} 56'$, long. $54^{\circ} 35'$), "the northern part of the sky was seen all on fire. Innumerable falling stars traversed the heavens during an hour and a half, and diffused so vivid a light, that those meteors might be compared to the blazing sheaves shot out from a fire-work." The knowledge of this fact rests upon highly respectable testimony, that of the Count of Marbois, at that time transported to Cayenne, a victim to his love of justice and of rational constitutional liberty. 3d, Mr. Ellicott,

4 G astronomer

astronomer to the United States, having terminated his trigonometric operations for the rectification of the limits on the Ohio, being on the 12th of November in the Gulf of Florida, in the latitude of 25° , and longitude $81^{\circ} 50'$, saw, in all parts of the sky, "as many meteors as stars, moving in all directions; some appeared to fall perpendicularly; and it was expected every minute that they would drop into the vessel." The same phenomenon was perceived upon the American continent as far as the latitude of $30^{\circ} 48'$. 4th, In Labrador, at Nain (lat. $56^{\circ} 55'$), and Hoffenthal (lat. $58^{\circ} 4'$); in Greenland, at Lichtenau (lat. $61^{\circ} 5'$), and at New Herrenhut (lat. $64^{\circ} 14'$, long. $52^{\circ} 20'$); the Eskimaux were frightened at the enormous quantity of bolides, that fell during twilight toward all points of the firmament, and "some of which were a foot broad. 5th, In Germany, Mr. Zeissing, vicar of Itterstadt near Weimar (lat. $50^{\circ} 59'$, long. $9^{\circ} 1'$ east), perceived, on the 12th of November, between the hours of six and seven in the morning, when it was half after two at Cumana, some falling stars, which shed a very white light. "Soon after, toward the south and south-west, luminous rays appeared from four to six foot long; they were reddish, and resembled the luminous track of a sky-rocket. During the morning twilight, between the hours of seven and eight, the south-west part of the sky was seen, from time to time, strongly illuminated by white lightning, which ran in serpentine lines along the horizon. At night the cold increased, and the barometer had risen." It is very probable, that the meteor might have been observed more to the east, in Poland and in Russia. If Mr. Ritter had not taken a particular account of them from the Vicar of Itterstadt's papers, we should have supposed, that the bodies had not been visible beyond the limits of the New Continent.

The distance from Weimar to the Rio Negro, is 1800 sea leagues; and from Rio Negro to Herrenhut in Greenland, 1300 leagues. Admitting that the same fiery meteors were seen at points so distant from each other, we must also admit, that their height was at least 411 leagues. Near Weimar, the appearance like sky-rockets was seen in the south, and south-east; at Cumana, in the east, and in the east-north-east. We may therefore conclude, that numberless aerolites must have fallen into the sea, between Africa and South-America, to the west of the Cape-Verde Islands.

But, since the direction of the bolides was not the same at Labrador and at Cumana, why were they not perceived in the latter place towards the north, as at Cayenne? We can scarcely be too cautious on a subject, on which good observations made in very distant places are still wanting. I am rather inclined to think, that the Chayma Indians of Cumana did not see the same bolides as the Portuguese in Brazil, and the missionaries in Labrador; but, at the same time, it cannot be doubted, and this fact appears to me very remarkable, that in the New World, between the meridians of 46° and 82° , between the equator and 64° north, at the same hour, an immense number of bolides and falling stars, were perceived; and that those meteors had every where the same brilliancy throughout a space of 921,000 square leagues.

The scientific men, who have lately made such laborious researches on falling stars and their parallaxes, considered them, as meteors belonging to the farthest limits of our atmosphere, between the region of the Aurora Borealis and that of the lightest clouds. Some have been seen, which had not more than 14,000 toises, or about five leagues, of elevation. The highest do not appear to exceed thirty leagues. They have often more than a hundred feet diameter; and their swiftness is such, that they dart, in a few seconds, over a space of two leagues. Some of these have been measured, the direction of which was almost perpendicularly upward, or forming an angle of 50° with the vertical line. This extremely remarkable circumstance has led to the conclusion, that falling stars are not aerolites, which, after having hovered about a long time in space, take fire on entering accidentally into our atmosphere, and fall toward the earth.

Whatever may be the origin of these luminous meteors, it is difficult to conceive any instantaneous inflammation taking place in a region, where there is less air than in the vacuum of our air-pump; and where (at 25,000 toises high) the mercury in the barometer would not rise to 0.012 of a line. We have ascertained the uniform mixture of atmospheric air to 0.003 nearly, only to an elevation of 2000 toises; consequently not beyond the last stratum of fleecy clouds. It might be admitted, that, in the first revolutions of the globe, gaseous substances, which yet remain unknown to us, may have risen toward that region, through

through which the falling stars pass: but accurate experiments, made upon mixtures of gasses which have not the same specific gravity, prove, that we cannot admit a superior stratum of the atmosphere entirely different from the inferior strata. Gaseous substances mix and penetrate each other with the least motion, and a uniformity of their mixture would have taken place in the lapse of ages, unless we suppose in them the effects of a repulsive action unexampled in those substances which we can subject to our observations. Farther, if we admit the existence of particular aerial fluids in the inaccessible regions of luminous meteors, falling stars, bolides, and the Aurora Borealis; how can we conceive why the whole stratum of those fluids does not at once take fire, but that the gaseous emanations, like the clouds, occupy only limited spaces? How can we suppose an electrical explosion without some vapours collected together, capable of containing unequal charges of electricity, in air, the mean temperature of which is, perhaps, 25° below the freezing point of the centigrade thermometer, and the rarefaction of which is so considerable, that the compression of the electrical shock could scarcely disengage any heat? These difficulties would, in great part, be removed, if the direction of the motion of falling stars allowed us to consider them as bodies with a solid nucleus, as cosmic phenomena (belonging to space beyond the limits of our atmosphere), and not as telluric phenomena (belonging to our planet only).

Supposing that the meteors of Cumana were only at the usual height, at which falling stars in general move, the same meteors were seen above the horizon in places more than 310 leagues distant from each other. Now, what an extraordinary disposition to incandescence must have reigned on the 12th of November, in the higher regions of the atmosphere, to have furnished, during four hours, myriads of bolides and falling stars, visible at the equator, in Greenland, and in Germany.

Mr. Benzenberg judiciously observes, that the same cause, which renders the phenomenon more frequent, has also an influence on the largeness of the meteors, and the intensity of their light. In Europe, the nights when there are the greatest number of falling stars, are those in which very bright ones are mixed with very small ones. The periodicalness of the phenomenon augments the interest which it excites. There are months, in

which Mr. Brandes has reckoned in our temperate zone, only sixty or eighty falling stars in one night; and in other months their number has risen to two thousand. Whenever one is observed, which has the diameter of Sirius or of Jupiter, we are sure of seeing so brilliant a meteor, succeeded by a great number of smaller meteors. If the falling stars be very frequent during one night, it is very probable, that this frequency will continue during several weeks. It would seem, that, in the higher regions of the atmosphere, near that extreme limit where the centrifugal force is balanced by gravity, there exists, at regular periods, a particular disposition for the production of bolides, falling stars, and the Aurora Borealis. Does the periodicalness of this great phenomenon depend upon the state of the atmosphere? or upon something which this atmosphere receives from without, while the earth advances in the ecliptic? Of all this we are still ignorant, as men were in the days of Anaxagoras.

With respect to the falling stars themselves, it appears to me, from my own experience, that they are more frequent in the equinoctial regions than in the temperate zone; more frequent over the continents, and near certain coasts, than in the middle of the ocean. Do the radiation of the surface of the globe, and the electric charge of the lower regions of the atmosphere, which varies according to the nature of the soil, and the positions of the continents and seas, exert their influence as far as those heights, where eternal winter reigns? The total absence even of the smallest clouds, at certain seasons, or above some barren plains destitute of vegetation, seem to prove, that this influence can be felt at least as far as five or six thousand toises high. A phenomenon analogous to that of the 12th of November, was observed thirty years before, on the table-land of the Andes, in a country studded with volcanoes. At the city of Quito, there was seen, in one part of the sky, above the volcano of Cayambo, so great a number of falling stars, that the mountain was thought to be in flames. This singular sight lasted more than an hour. The people assembled in the plain of Exico, where a magnificent view presents itself of the highest summits of the Cordilleras. A procession was already on the point of setting out from the Convent of St. Francis, when it was perceived, that the blaze on the horizon was caused by fiery meteors, which ran along the skies in all

directions, at the altitude of twelve or thirteen degrees.

LA GUAYRA.

I landed in the port of La Guayra, and the same evening made preparations for transporting my instruments to Caraccas. The persons for whom I had recommendation, advised me not to sleep in the town, where the yellow fever had only ceased a few weeks, but in a house on a little hill, above the village of Maiquetia, more exposed to fresh winds than La Guayra.

La Guayra is rather a roadstead than a port. The sea is constantly agitated, and the ships suffer at once by the action of the wind, the tideways, the bad anchorage, and the worms. The landing is taken in with difficulty, and the height of the swell prevents embarking mules here, as at New Barcelona and Porto Cabello. The free Mulattoes and Negroes, who carry the cacao on board the ships, are a class of men of very remarkable muscular strength. They go up to their middles through the water; and, what is well worthy of attention, they have nothing to fear from the sharks, which are so frequent in this harbour. The fact seems connected with what I have often observed between the tropics, relatively to other classes of animals, that live in society; for instance, monkeys and crocodiles. In the missions of the Oronoko, and the river of Amazons, the Indians who catch monkeys to sell them, know very well, that they can easily succeed in taming those which inhabit certain islands; while monkeys, of the same species, caught on the neighbouring continent, die of terror or rage, when they find themselves in the power of man. The crocodiles of one pool in the Llanos are cowardly, and flee even in the water; while those of another attack with extreme intrepidity. It would be difficult to explain this difference of manners and habits, by the aspect of their respective localities. The sharks of the port of La Guayra seem to furnish an analogous example. They are dangerous and blood-thirsty, at the island opposite the coast of Caraccas, at the Roques, at Bonaire, and at Curaçao: while they forbear to attack persons swimming in the ports of La Guayra and Santa Martha. The people, who, in order to simplify the explanation of natural phenomena, have always recourse to the marvellous, affirm, that, in both places, a bishop gave his benediction to the sharks.

The situation of La Guayra is very

singular, and can only be compared to that of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe. The chain of mountains, that separates the port from the high valley of Caraccas, descends almost directly into the sea; and the houses of the town are backed by a wall of steep rocks. There scarcely remains one hundred or one hundred and forty toises breadth of flat ground between the wall and the ocean. The town has six or eight thousand inhabitants, and contains only two streets, running parallel to each other east and west. It is commanded by a battery of Cerro Colorado; and its fortifications along the seaside are well disposed, and kept in repair. The aspect of this place has something solitary and gloomy; we seemed not to be on a continent, covered with vast forests, but in a rocky island, destitute of mould and vegetation. With the exception of Cape Blanco, and the cocoa-trees of Maiquetia, no view meets the eye but that of the horizon, the sea, and the azure vault of heaven. The heat is stifling during the day, and most frequently during the night. The climate of La Guayra is justly considered as more ardent than that of Cumana, Porto Cabello, and Coro; because the sea-breeze is less felt, and the air is heated by the radiant caloric, which the perpendicular rocks emit from the time the sun sets.

The examination of the thermometric observations, made during nine months at La Guayra by a distinguished physician, enabled me to compare the climate of this port, and that of Cumana, the Havannah, and Vera Cruz.

These four places are considered as the hottest on the shores of the New World. The mean of the observations made at noon, from the 27th of June to the 16th of November, were, at La Guayra, 31.6° of the centigrade thermometer; at Cumana, 29.3° ; at Vera Cruz, 28.7° ; at the Havannah, 29.5° . The daily difference, at the same hour, scarcely exceeded 0.8° or 1.4° . During this period it rained but four times, and then only for seven or eight minutes. At this season, the yellow fever prevails; which usually disappears at La Guayra, as at Vera Cruz, and the island of St. Vincent, when the temperature of the day descends below twenty-three or twenty-four degrees. The mean temperature of the hottest month was, at La Guayra, nearly 29.3° ; at Cumana, 29.1° ; at Vera Cruz, 27.7° ; at Cairo, according to Nouet, 29.9° ; at Rome, 25° . From

the 16th of November to the 19th of December, the mean temperature of noon, at La Guayra, was only 24.3° ; at night, 21.6° . This is the time at which the sufferings from heat are the least; and yet I do not believe, that the thermometer ever falls (and it is lowest a little before sunrise) below 21° . It sometimes descends at Cumana, to 21.2° ; at Vera Cruz, to 16° ; at the Havannah (always when the north wind blows), to 8° , and even lower. The mean temperature of the coldest month is in these four places, 23.2° , 26.8° , 21.1° , 21.0° . At Cairo, it is 13.4° . The mean of the whole year, according to good observations carefully calculated, is, at La Guayra nearly 28.1° ; at Cumana, 27.7° ; at Vera Cruz, 25.4° ; at the Havannah, 25.6° ; at Rio Janeiro, 23.5° ; at Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, in the latitude of $28^{\circ} 28'$, but backed like La Guayra, by a wall of rocks, 21.9° ; at Cairo, 22.4° ; at Rome, 15.8° .

From the whole of these observations it follows, that La Guayra is one of the hottest places on the earth*, that the quantity of heat which it receives in the course of a year, is a little greater than that felt at Cumana; but that, in the months of November, December, and January, (at equal distance from the two passages of the sun through the zenith of the town), the atmosphere cools more at La Guayra.

At the time of my abode at La Guayra, the scourge of yellow fever, or *calentura amarilla*, had been known only two years; and the mortality had not been considerable, because the confluence of strangers on the coast of Caraccas was less than at the Havannah and Vera Cruz.

I found the latitude of La Guayra to be $10^{\circ} 36' 19''$; and the longitude $69^{\circ} 26' 13''$. The dip of the needle on the 24th of January, 1800, was 42.20° ; and its variation $4^{\circ} 20' 35''$ east. The intensity of the magnetic forces was found proportional to 237 oscillations.

CARACCAS.

After having described the scenery, and the atmospheric constitution of La Guayra, we shall now leave the coasts of the Caribbean Sea. The road that

leads from the port to Caraccas, the capital of a government of near 90,000 inhabitants, resembles, as I have already observed, the passages over the Alps, the road of St. Gothard, and of the Great St. Bernard. Taking the level of the road had never been attempted before my arrival in the province of Venezuela. No precise idea had even been formed of the elevation of the valley of Caraccas. It had indeed been long observed, that the descent was much less from La Cumbre and La Vuelta, which is the culminating point of the road toward the Pastora at the entrance of the valley of Caraccas, than toward the port of La Guayra: but the mountain of Avila, having a very considerable bulk, the eye cannot discover, at the same time, the points to be compared. It is even impossible to form a precise idea of the elevation of Caraccas from the climate of the valley. The air in it is cooled by the descending currents of air; and by the fogs, which envelop the lofty summit of the Silla during a great part of the year. I have often gone on foot from La Guayra to Caraccas; and I sketched a profile of the road, founded on twelve points, the heights of which were determined by barometric measurements.

When in the season of the great heats we breathe the burning atmosphere of La Guayra, and turn our eyes toward the mountains, we are strongly affected by the idea, that, at the direct distance of five or six thousand toises, a population of forty thousand souls, assembled in a narrow valley, enjoys all the coolness of spring, of a temperature which, at night, descends to 12° of the centesimal thermometer. This near approach of different climates is common in the Cordilleras of the Andes; but every where, at Mexico, at Quito, in Peru, and in New Grenada, a long journey must be made into the interior, either by the plains, or by proceeding up the rivers, in order to reach the great cities, which are the centres of civilization. The height of Caraccas is but a third of that of Mexico, Quito, and Santa Fe de Bogota; yet, among all the capitals of Spanish America, which enjoy a cool and delicious climate in the midst of the torrid zone, Caraccas stands nearest to the coast. What a privilege, to possess a sea-port at three leagues distance, and to be situate among mountains, on a table-land, which would produce wheat, if the cultivation of the coffee-tree were not preferred!

The road from La Guayra to the Valley

* In Asia, the mean temperature of Abushar, of Madras, and of Batavia, are not above 25° and 27° ; but the hottest month at Madras rises to 32° , according to Roxburgh; and at Abushar, on the Persian Gulf, according to Mr. Jukes, to 33.90° ; which is from two to four degrees higher than at Cairo.

ley of Caraccas, is infinitely finer than that from Honda to Santa Fe, or that from Guayaquil to Quito. It is even kept in better order than the ancient road, which led from the port of Vera Cruz to Perote, on the eastern declivity of the mountains of New Spain. With good mules, it requires but three hours to go from the port of La Guayra to Caraccas; and only two hours to return. With loaded mules, or on foot, the journey is from four to five hours. The ascent begins with a ridge of rocks extremely steep, and stations that bear the name of Torrequemada, Curucuti, and Salto, to a large inn (La Venta) built at six hundred toises above the level of the sea. The denomination of the Burnt Tower indicates the sensation that is felt in descending toward La Guayra. A suffocating heat is reflected by the walls of rock, and still more by the barren plains, on which the traveller looks down.

When I passed for the first time that table-land, on my way to the capital of Venezuela, I found several travellers assembled round the little inn of Guayavo, to rest their mules. They were inhabitants of Caraccas, and were disputing on the efforts toward independence, which had been made a short time before. Joseph Espana had perished on the scaffold; and his wife groaned in a prison, because she had given an asylum to her husband when a fugitive, and had not denounced him to the government. I was struck with the agitation which prevailed in every mind, and the bitterness with which questions were debated, on which men of the same country ought not to have differed in opinion. While they descended on the hatred of the Mulattoes against the free negroes and whites, on the wealth of the monks, and the difficulty of holding slaves in obedience, a cold wind, that seemed to descend from the lofty summit of the Silla of Caraccas, enveloped us in a thick fog, and put an end to this animated conversation. We sought for shelter, in the Venta del Guayavo. When we entered the inn, an old man, who had spoken with the most calmness, reminded the others how imprudent it was, in a time of denunciation, on the mountain as well as in the city, to engage in political discussions. These words, uttered in a spot of so wild an aspect, made a lively impression on my mind; which was often renewed during our journeys in the Andes of New Grenada and Peru. In Europe, where nations decide their quarrels in the

plains, we climb the mountains in search of solitude and liberty. In the New World, the Cordilleras are inhabited to the height of twelve thousand feet, and thither men carry with them their political dissensions, and their little and hateful passions.

Caraccas is the capital of a country, which is nearly twice as large as Peru at present, and which yields little in extent to the kingdom of New Grenada. This country, which the Spanish government designates by the name of *Capitania General de Caraccas*, or of the (united) provinces of Venezuela, has nearly a million of inhabitants, among whom are sixty thousand slaves. It contains, along the coast, New Andalusia, or the province of Cumana (with the island of Margareta), Barcelona, Venezuela or Caraccas, Coro, and Maracaybo; in the interior, the provinces of Varinas and Guiana, the first along the rivers of Santo Domingo and the Apure, the second along the Oroonoko, the Casiquiare, the Atabapo, and the Rio Negro. In a general view of the seven united provinces of Terra Firma, we perceive, that they form three distinct zones, extending from east to west.

Caraccas is the seat of an *audiencia* (high court of justice) and one of the eight archbishoprics, into which Spanish America is divided. Its population in 1800, according to the researches I made into the number of births, was nearly 40,000; the best informed inhabitants believed it even to be 45,000, of which 18,000 are whites, and 27,000 free men of colour. Computations made in 1778, had already given from 30,000 to 32,000. All the direct numberings have remained a quarter, and more, below the effective number. In 1766, the population of Caraccas, and the fine valley in which that city is placed, suffered immensely by a severe attack of the small-pox. The mortality rose in the town to six or eight thousand. Since that memorable period, inoculation has become general, and I have seen it practised without the aid of physicians. In the province of Cumana, where the communications with Europe are less frequent, there had not been, in my time, one instance of the small-pox during fifteen years; while, at Caraccas, that cruel malady was constantly dreaded, because it always showed itself sporadically on several points at a time. I say sporadically, for in Equinoctial America, where the changes of the atmosphere, and the phenomena of organic

life, seem subject to a remarkable periodicalness, the small-pox, before the benevolent introduction of the vaccine disease, exerted its ravages only, if we may place confidence in general belief, every fifteen or twenty years. Since my return to Europe, the population of Caraccas has continued to augment. It amounted to 50,000 souls; when, at the great earthquake of the 26th of March, 1812, twelve thousand inhabitants perished beneath the ruins of their houses. The political events, which have succeeded this catastrophe, have reduced the number of inhabitants to less than 20,000; but these losses will soon be repaired, if the fertile and commercial country, of which Caraccas is the centre, should have the happiness of enjoying repose, and a wise administration, for a few years.

The town is seated at the entrance of the plain of Chacao, which extend three leagues east towards Caurimare and the Cuesta de Auyamas, and which is two leagues and a half in breadth. This plain, through which runs the Rio Guayra, is four hundred and fourteen toises in height above the level of the sea. The ground, which the town of Caraccas occupies, is uneven, and has a steep slope from N.N.W. to S.S.E. In order to form an exact idea of the situation of Caraccas, we must recollect the general disposition of the mountains of the coast, and the great longitudinal valleys, by which they were traversed. The Guayra rises in the group of primitive mountains of Higuerota, which separates the valley of Caraccas from that of Aragua. It is formed near Las Ajuntas by the junction of the little rivers of San Pedro and Macarao, and runs first to the east as far as the Cuesta of Auyamas, and then to the south, to unite its waters with those of Rio Tuy, below Yare. The Rio Tuy is the only considerable river in the northern and mountainous part of the province.

The climate of Caraccas has often been called a perpetual spring. It is found every where, half way up the Cordilleras of Equinoctial America, between four hundred and nine hundred toises of elevation, unless the great breadth of the valley, joined to an arid soil, causes an extraordinary intensity of radiant caloric. What indeed can we imagine more delightful than a temperature, which in the day keeps between 20° and 26°; and at night, between 16° and 18°, which is equally favourable to the plantain (cambury), the orange-tree, the

coffee-tree, the apple, the apricot, and corn? A national writer compares the situation of Caraccas to the terrestrial Paradise, and recognizes in the Anauco and the neighbouring torrents, the four rivers of the Garden of Eden.

It is to be regretted, that such a temperate climate is generally incunctant and variable. The inhabitants of Caraccas complain of having several seasons in the same day; and of the rapid change from one season to another. In the month of January for instance, a night, of which the mean temperature is 16°, is followed by a day, when the thermometer, during eight successive hours, keeps above 22° in the shade. In the same day, we find the temperature of 24° and 18°.

The cool and delightful climate we have been describing, agrees also with the culture of equinoctial productions. The sugar-cane is cultivated with success, even at heights exceeding that of Caracas; but in the valley, on account of the dryness of the climate, and the stony soil, the cultivation of the coffee-tree is preferred; which there yields little fruit indeed, but of the finest quality. When the shrub is in blossom, the plain extending beyond Chacao presents a delightful aspect. The banana-tree, which is seen in the plantations near the town, is not the great *platano harto*; but the varieties *camburi* and *dominico*, which require less heat. The great plantations are brought to the market of Caraccas from the haciendos of Turiamo, situate on the coast between Burburata and Porto Cabello. The highest flavoured pine-apples are those of Baruto, of Empedrado, and of the heights of Buena-vista, on the road to Victoria. When a traveller ascends, for the first time, to the valley of Caraccas, he is agreeably surprised to find the culinary plants of our climate, the strawberry, the vine, and almost all the fruit-trees of the temperate zone, growing by the side of the coffee and banana-tree. The apples and peaches esteemed the best come from Macarao, or from the western extremity of the valley. There, the quince-tree, the trunk of which attains only four or five feet in height, is so common, that it has almost become wild. Preserved apples and quinces, particularly the latter, are much used in a country, where it is thought, that, to drink water, thirst must previously be excited by sweetmeats. In proportion as the environs of the town have been cultivated with coffee; and the establishment of plantations,

plantations, which dates only from the year 1795, has increased the number of agricultural negroes; the apple and quince trees, scattered in the savannahs, have given place, in the valley of Caraccas, to maize and pulse.

I remained two months at Caraccas, where Mr. Bonpland and I lived in a large and nearly solitary house, in the highest part of the town. From a gallery, we could survey at once the summit of the Silla, the serrated ridge of the Gallipano, and the charming valley of the Guayra, the rich cultivation of which, formed a pleasing contrast with the gloomy curtain of the surrounding mountains. It was the season of drought, and, in order to improve the pasturage, the savannahs, and the turf that covers the steepest rocks, were set on fire. These vast conflagrations, viewed from a distance, produce the most singular effects of light. Wherever the savannahs, following the undulating slope of the rocks, have filled up the furrows hollowed out by the waters, the inflamed land appears, in a dark night, like currents of lava suspended over the valley. Their vivid but steady light assumes a reddish tint, when the wind, descending from the Silla, accumulates streams of vapour in the low regions. At other times, and this aspect is still more solemn, these luminous bands, enveloped in thick clouds, appear only at intervals, where it is clear; and as the clouds ascend, their edges reflect a splendid light. These various phenomena, so common under the tropics, become still more interesting from the form of the mountain, the disposition of the slopes, and the height of the savannahs covered with alpine grasses. During the day, the wind of Petare, blowing from the east, drives the smoke toward the town, and diminishes the transparency of the air.

Civilization has in no other part of Spanish America, assumed a more European physiognomy. The great number of Indian cultivators, who inhabit Mexico and the interior of New Grenada, have impressed a peculiar, I might also say an exotic character, on those vast countries. Notwithstanding the increase of the black population, we seem to be nearer Cadiz and the United States at Caraccas and the Havannah, than in any other part of the New World.

I found in several families at Caraccas a taste for instruction, a knowledge of the master-pieces of French and Italian literature, and a particular predilection

for music, which is cultivated with success, and which, as it always happens in the pursuit of the fine arts, serves to bring the different classes of society nearer to each other. The mathematical sciences, drawing, painting, cannot here boast of any of those establishments, with which royal munificence, and the patriotic zeal of the inhabitants, have enriched Mexico. In the midst of the marvels of nature, so rich in productions, no person on this coast was devoted to the study of plants and minerals. In a convent of St. Francis alone I met with a respectable old gentleman, who calculated the almanac for all the provinces of Venezuela, and who possessed some precise ideas on the state of modern astronomy.

JOURNAL
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LATE EMBASSY TO CHINA,
COMPRISING
A Correct Narrative of the Public Transactions of the Embassy, of the Voyage to and from China,
AND OF THE JOURNEY
FROM THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO
TO THE RETURN TO CANTON,
INTERSPERSED
WITH OBSERVATIONS
Upon the face of the Country; the Policy, Moral Character, and Manners of the Chinese Nation.
ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND DRAWINGS.
BY HENRY ELLIS,
Third Commissioner of the Embassy.
Quarto.—21. 2s.

RIO JANEIRO.

THE morning found us nearly in the centre of an amphitheatre of mountains, at the distance of seven miles. An opening between two extremes of land marked the entrance of the harbour; on the right is the fort of Santa Cruz, on the left that of Saint Lucie. The ranges presented in most places conical summits, and, although one has especially obtained the appellation of Sugar Loaf, it is rather from its superior precipitous height, than from being singular in its shape. At this distance, the beauty of the scenery is principally derived from the extent and impressive variety of the forms assumed by the different ranges. The entrance to the harbour seemed about three quarters of a mile in breadth:

breadth; and ranges of mountains, whose relative distances were marked by the position of the clouds resting upon their summits, formed the back ground. On approaching nearer to the entrance, the scene became indescribably sublime and beautiful; the mountains that had formed the amphitheatre, on a nearer view, divided themselves into islands and separate headlands; several were thickly, though perhaps not loftily, wooded. Fortifications, detached houses, villages, and convents, occupied different positions; the eye wandered in rapturous observation over an endless variety of picturesque combinations, presenting a totality of wondrous scenery, detached parts of which were within the reach of the painter, but the general effect must equally defy pictorial and verbal description. In variety of expression, the scene somewhat resembled the harbour of Constantinople, but the features of nature are here on a grander scale.

St. Sebastian, viewed from the church of the same name, appears to be built in a semicircle; the streets are generally at right angles. The public buildings are neither numerous nor deserving of notice in point of architecture. The little state and splendour belonging to St. Sebastian, is to be found in the churches: in these buildings the Grecian cross is the prevailing form: the shrines and altars are handsomely decorated, and the service is performed with much magnificence. The royal garden, whatever it may have been heretofore, does not now repay the trouble of a visit. Although the aqueduct forms a picturesque object at a distance, it is neither tastefully nor substantially built; the work, however, must have been raised at a considerable expense, from the mountainous nature of the ground over which it is carried; near the town it consists of a double row of arches: the water-course commences at a short distance below the Corcovado mountain.

The population of St. Sebastian is estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand souls, two-thirds of which are slaves, and the remainder consists of Europeans and mulattoes. The agricultural and other severe labour, is almost entirely performed by slaves; for, until very lately, not only Europeans, but mulattoes, considered themselves degraded by such employments. The mechanics were formerly all mulattoes; at present, however, the residence of the court has encouraged not only Portuguese, but other Europeans, to establish themselves as

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artificers. Slaves are here, as elsewhere, a most valuable article of property, a male selling from thirty to forty pounds. The return to the owners would, however, seem more frequently to be in a share of their wages, than in the value of the commodities produced by their labour. It is the practice to send the slaves out in the morning, with directions to bring home in the evening a certain sum of money, supposed to be a large proportion of their daily earnings; any overplus belongs to the slave: deficiency is punished with more or less severity, according to the disposition of the individual; but, in general, the treatment is not cruel. Twenty thousand slaves are supposed to have been imported last year, a number exceeding that of former years, in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, apprehended from the interference of England.

Thirty or forty English mercantile houses are established at St. Sebastian, and the export trade is almost entirely in their hands: their imports consist in English manufacture, and all the produce of Europe which can be required in the Brazils; their exports from St. Sebastian are sugar, coffee, and hides, the cotton of Pernambuco being so superior, that but little of this commodity is grown in the neighbourhood. Rio coffee holds the third rank in the European market. Portuguese merchants are the growers of the raw produce, which is conveyed by them to the port, where it is sold to the English exporter. It is asserted, that the trade of the Brazils has lately become unprofitable to the foreign merchants, from the excess of capital employed in it, and that European produce is at present sold below prime cost; another opinion would attribute existing circumstances to a participation in the general stagnation of commerce, produced by transitory causes. The customs at the port of St. Sebastian are stated to amount to two hundred thousand pounds per annum. Land, in and near the city, sells high, as capitalists, from the absence of public securities, employ their surplus funds in building.

OBJECT OF THE EMBASSY.

Early in the year 1815, the increasing difficulties which the supercargoes at Canton represented themselves as experiencing in the conduct of the trade, from the oppressions of the local government, induced the Court of Directors to contemplate the measure of an embassy to China, and they accordingly submitted their views upon the subject to his ma-

esty's ministers. The president of the Board of Control, to whom their communication was addressed, suggested the expediency of deferring the adoption of any specific measure, until further and more detailed information had been received from the committee of supercargoes; for, although an appeal to the imperial government might be recommended or resorted to by them, while suffering from actual oppression, it by no means followed that they would retain the same opinion, if measures of resistance, already pursued at Canton, should prove successful: in this reasoning, the directors concurred.

Possessed of the requisite information, and supported by the renewed recommendation of their supercargoes, the chairman and deputy chairman of the Court of Directors, in a letter dated the 28th of July, 1815, solicited the aid of his majesty's ministers to the proposed measure, and the appointment, by the Prince Regent, of some person of high rank, as his ambassador to the Emperor of China.

The immediate, and certainly not unreasonable, cause of the hostility of the Canton government, was *the violation of the neutrality of the port by the seizure of an American ship, within the undisputed limits of the Chinese dominions.* This act was committed by the captain of his majesty's ship *Doris.** Other seizures of American ships by that officer, justified by the acknowledged principles of maritime law in Europe, were also complained of by the Canton government, who called upon the chief and select committee of supercargoes, to exert their authority in redressing the injury, and preventing its recurrence. The mode insisted upon was, the immediate dispatch of his majesty's ships to Europe; and, to give weight to the command, the supply of provisions was forbidden, and demonstrations were made of an intention to expel them by force.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the supercargoes were so tenacious of official forms, as to hesitate making an apology, in the name of their nation, for the acknowledged irregularity that had been committed, and immediately offering such explanations respecting the other seizures, as were best calculated to remove the misapprehension, or to allay the increasing irritation of the members of the Chinese government.

* Was this man ever brought to trial, and punished?—ED.

The question of these disagreeable altercations might have been considered as set at rest, were it not for the knowledge subsequently obtained of the report addressed by the Viceroy to the Emperor, in which language similar in spirit to that complained of, and retracted, was renewed: this act of falsehood and treachery necessarily diminished, if not destroyed, confidence for the future.

The directors themselves entertained opinion, that the truth was concealed from the emperor, and therefore concluded that a redress of grievances might be expected from a direct application to his supreme authority. Much stress was laid, by the directors, upon the indisputable importance of the British trade, not only to the province of Canton, but to the imperial revenues: and they thence inferred the certain disapprobation by the Emperor of any measures that endangered its regularity and continuance.

His majesty's ministers concurred generally in the propositions and views of the directors; the only exception was, the composition of the mission, to which they deemed it more advisable to give the external character of an embassy extraordinary, rather than that of a commission of embassy.

This modification of the original proposition being admitted by the directors, Lord Amherst was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary by the Prince Regent, and I was named Secretary of Embassy, and furnished with dormant credentials as minister plenipotentiary, to be used only in the event of the death or absence of the ambassador.

The principal objects of the embassy have been already stated; and, in the instructions to the ambassador, while they were detailed, and the relative importance assigned to each, much was necessarily left to his discretion and the judgment he might form of the aspect of affairs at the moment. Permission to trade with some port to the northward, favourable to the increased diffusion of English manufactures, was the only addition to the original views of the directors.

CHINESE MINISTERS.

4th of August.—Received a visit from Chang and Yin, the two mandarins who are to accompany the embassy; they were both preceded by their visiting tickets, composed of slips of red paper, eighteen inches long by six wide, on which their names and titles were inscribed. Yin arrived first, and was received

ceived by Captains Maxwell and Hall, in their full uniforms, upon deck: he would not be presented to the ambassador until his colleague arrived. When Chang reached the ship, they were conducted to Lord Amherst's cabin, by Mr. Morrison, where they were received by his excellency and the two commissioners. After the usual compliments, they proceeded to make inquiries as to the number of boats that would be required for the embassy, presents, and baggage. Copies of the lists that had been transmitted to the viceroy of Pe-che-lee were then put into their hands, and, with the exception of the attempt to reckon the amount, fifty-four persons, the number passed unnoticed. They next asked what were the objects of the embassy; to which it was replied, that the intention of the Prince Regent was to manifest his regard for his Imperial Majesty, and to confirm those relations of friendship that had subsisted between their illustrious parents. On their demanding whether nothing else was intended, they were apprised that the objects of the embassy were stated in the Prince Regent's letter, and would be communicated to To-chong-tong, the principal minister, who was, as we had been informed, to meet us at Tien-sing. It was further explained, that a Chinese translation would be made of the Prince Regent's letter, that a copy would be given to the minister, and the original delivered to his Imperial Majesty: with this they seemed satisfied. They then adverted to the ceremony of *ko-tou*, or prostration, and observed that previous practice would be required to secure its being decorously performed before the Emperor; to this it was answered, that every mark of respect would on the present, as on the former embassy, be manifested towards his Imperial Majesty.

Both the mandarins are advanced in years, the youngest being fifty-five. Yin brought his son, a fine boy of eleven years of age, on board with him, who readily made acquaintance with young Amherst. The boy, on being presented by his father to the ambassador, knelt down with much grace and modesty; this is the usual salutation of children to their parents, and of inferiors to superiors. We have all had reason to concur with Mr. Barrow's description of the Chinese as a frowzy people: the stench arising from the numbers on board was not only sensible but oppressive; it was the re-

pose of putrifying garlic on a much used blanket.

THE KO-TOU.

Lord Amherst having requested the opinion of Sir George Staunton, upon the subject of compliance with the Chinese ceremonial of *ko-tou*, Sir George put a letter into his hands, declaring, in very distinct terms, his opinion of the injurious effects upon the company's interests at Canton likely to arise from the performance of the ceremony; incompatible, as he verbally expressed himself, with personal and national respectability. Sir George was disposed to consider the mere reception of the embassy, as not worth being purchased by the sacrifice. He, however, adverted to the possibility of conditions being required by us, which, if complied with, would remove the objections; but such compliance, on the part of the Chinese, was, in his opinion, extremely improbable.

TIEN-SING.

It is very difficult to describe the exact impression produced on the mind by the approach to Tien-Sing. If fine buildings and striking localities are required to give interest to a scene, this has no claims; but, on the other hand, if the gradual crowding of junks, till they become innumerable, a vast population, buildings, though not elegant, yet regular and peculiar, careful and successful cultivation, can supply those deficiencies, the entrance to Tien-sing will not be without attractions to the traveller. The pyramids of salt, covered with mats, the dimensions and extent of which have been so ingeniously estimated by Mr. Barrow, are the most striking objects. We were two hours and a half passing from the beginning of the line of houses on the right bank of the river, to our anchorage. A salute was fired from a small fort; and, nearly opposite, troops were drawn up. Among them were matchlock men, wearing black caps. We observed some companies dressed in long yellow and black striped garments, covering them literally from head to foot; they are intended to represent tigers, but certainly are more likely to excite ridicule than terror; defence, from the spread of their shields, would seem their great object. A short distance from our anchorage, we passed on our left the branch of the river leading to the canal, and thence to Canton. The excess of population was here most striking. I counted two hundred spectators upon one junk, and these vessels were innumerable.

imerable. The pyramids of salt were so covered with them, that they actually became pyramids of men. Some crowds of boys remained standing above their knees in the water for near an hour, to satiate their curiosity. A more orderly assemblage could not, however, I believe, be presented in any other country; and the soldiers had but seldom occasion to use even threatening gestures to maintain order. I had not before conceived that human heads could be so closely packed; they might have been by screws squeezed into each other, but there was often no possible vacancy to be observed. All these Chinese spectators were exposed, bareheaded, to the rays of the mid-day sun, when the thermometer in the shade stood at eighty-eight. Females were not numerous in the crowd, and these generally old, and always of the lower orders. The Chinese are, to judge from the inhabitants of Tien-sing, neither well-looking, nor strongly made; they are rather slight, but straight, and of the middle height.

INTERVIEW WITH MANDARINS.

13th of August.—At a quarter before ten we left our boats, and proceeded in chairs to the hall, where we were to be received. The band and the guard, with Lieutenants Cooke and Somerset, preceded the ambassador's chair, Mr. Morrison and his Excellency's son followed, then the commissioners, and afterwards the other gentlemen; the order was most regularly kept, and we arrived without interruption at the hall, a long building supported by light wooden pillars. At about one-third of the room, before a skreen, a table with yellow silk hanging before it met our eyes, a symptom of the discussion that awaited us. The mandarins were all in their robes of ceremony, principally of civil orders.

After a few polite expressions of their hope that we had met with no obstruction on our way thither, Kwang-ta-jin opened the subject of the ceremony, by saying, that the entertainment which we were that day to receive, was expressly commanded, and, indeed, given by the emperor; that, therefore, the same ceremonies would be performed by them, and expected from us, as if we were in the imperial presence. Lord Amherst replied, that he was prepared to approach his imperial majesty with the same demonstration of respect, as his own sovereign. They then specifically mentioned the ko-tou as the ceremony that would be required. Lord Amherst

declared his intention of following, in every respect, the precedent established by Lord Macartney.

The Chin-chaes argued in reply, that in fact our former ambassador had done every thing in point of ceremony that had been required of him, and especially had performed the ceremony of the ko-tou, as well in the presence of the emperor, as at other times; Soo-ta-jin said, he himself remembered his having then formed it when at Canton; and they both appealed to Sir George Staunton as having been present, and able to give evidence of the facts which they had asserted.

Much of the same ground was repeatedly gone over on both sides. The certain displeasure of the emperor, and the actual compliance of Lord Macartney, were repeatedly urged by the mandarins; the latter position was again strenuously denied by Lord Amherst, and the commands of his sovereign were pleaded and pressed as the ground of refusal.

The point was here finally given up; and Lord Amherst, in expressing his satisfaction, said, that to evince the sincerity of his disposition to conciliate, he would, although it was customary only to bow once before the throne of his own sovereign, not hesitate to make as many bows on the present occasion as they did prostrations: the Chinese, with characteristic illiberality, endeavoured to graft upon this voluntary concession, a demand that Lord Amherst should kneel upon one knee; this proposition was, of course, resisted, and the discussion seemed about to be renewed, when they abandoned their position, and we proceeded to the hall of reception, the conference having taken place in an inner apartment, Lord Amherst, his son, the commissioners, and Mr. Morrison, being present. When at the door, Kwang, in a friendly manner, entreated us to reconsider the consequences that might result. It was observed that there was no necessity for re-consideration or consultation, as we had no option.

On entering the hall, we placed ourselves before the table, the front of which was covered with yellow silk, and a lighted censer placed upon it. We bowed nine times, in unison with the prostrations of the mandarins: Soo-ta-jin, Kwang-ta-jin, and six others, went through the ceremony. The upper part of the hall was raised a step, and in the compartment, the two chief mandarins, Lord Amherst, his son, and the commissioners, seated themselves; the two mandarins

mandarins being on the left; all the other Chinese were seated below them on the same side, and the gentlemen of the embassy opposite: a handsome dinner, in the Chinese style, was then served, accompanied by a play.

When dinner was over, we returned to the inner apartment. After taking our seats, Kwang-ta-jin observed it was not well, and declared his fear of the emperor's displeasure. Lord Amherst again repeated his conviction that the emperor could not be dissatisfied with his having paid the same homage that he addressed to the throne of his own sovereign. The ceremony to be performed in the presence of the emperor was now brought forward by the mandarins: Lord Amherst then distinctly stated his intention to kneel upon one knee, and make his obeisance in that posture; he added, that the practice at the English court was to kiss the sovereign's hand. At this latter circumstance, they, as was expected, shook their heads, and made some faint attempts to renew the general discussion; the determination that was manifested, however, induced them to desist, and they merely affected not to understand the ceremonial proposed by Lord Amherst, which was again explained, but without effect.

The dress of ceremony of the mandarins, consisting of blue gauze or crape with some flowered satin beneath, is plain, and not unbecoming; an embroidered badge, marking their rank, whether civil or military, is fixed upon their robe before and behind. The peacock's feather, or "more properly tail of peacock's feather, answering to our orders of knighthood, is worn behind; two of these decorations are equivalent to the garter. The momentary rank of the person is not to be ascertained from his mandarin ornaments. A mandarin with a white button sat next to the Chinese commissioners, with only the intervention of a pillar, while one in a clear blue button sat below him, and one with a peacock's feather walked about the court the whole time of the conference. The commission of present office would seem to fix the immediate rank.

FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

In the evening, Soo-ta-jin and Kwang-ta-jin paid Lord Amherst, Sir George, and myself, separate visits: the leading points of yesterday's discussion, respecting the ceremony, were gone over by the mandarins with Lord Amherst in a more confidential manner; they expressed strong doubts as to the emperor's being satisfied, and talked much of what had

been his gracious intentions towards the present embassy; they noticed the appointment of Soo-ta-jin as a proof that his imperial majesty had been disposed to treat Lord Amherst with greater consideration than the former ambassador. Lord Amherst repeated the several arguments that had been before used, and added, that a single bow would be the obeisance that he should have paid on a similar occasion to the Emperor of Russia or any European sovereign; in point of fact, therefore, the ceremony that had been proposed was confined to his Chinese majesty. This observation seemed to have some weight with them; the allusion to Russia, however, gave them an opportunity of remarking that the last Russian embassy had returned without an audience, in consequence of the Ambassador refusing compliance upon this very point. Lord Amherst, on this occasion, complied with their request to see the box containing the Prince Regent's letter; and, although they evinced all the outward signs of childish gratification at the sight of a splendid bauble, they did not commit themselves to any expression of admiration. Much friendly conversation on different subjects ensued between the mandarins and his lordship, during which they seemed to have lost no opportunity of pressing their principal object; they remarked that the probability of the emperor's assenting to Lord Amherst's proposition was as one to ten thousand. The copy of the Prince Regent's letter was returned by the mandarins, who declared that they dare not read it with its present address of Sir, My Brother; we might venture to do so, but that they recommended the expression being omitted altogether; there were some other verbal alterations proposed of little importance.

The mandarins Soo and Kwang, do not correspond with the ministers or tribunals; their appointments as Chinchaes, or imperial commissioners, authorize them to communicate directly with the emperor. Such is the extent to which the principle of responsibility is carried in this government, that there is no doubt that Soo and Kwang will be held accountable for Lord Amherst's refusal to perform the *ko-tou*, and their failure be possibly visited with severe punishment. Information received from other quarters induces Mr. Morrison to give credit to the account of their suspension: and indeed, the cessation of intercourse with us renders it not unlikely.

RUPTURE OF THE EMBASSY.
29th of August.—Daylight found us at the

the village of Hai-teen, near which the house of Sung-ta-jin, one of the principal ministers, intended to be our quarters, is situated; here, however, we did not remain, but were carried directly to Yuen-min-yuen, where the emperor is at present. The carriage stopped under some trees, and we ourselves were conducted to a small apartment belonging to a range of buildings in a square; mandarins of all buttons were in waiting; several princes of the blood, distinguished by clear ruby buttons, and round flowered badges, were among them: the silence, and a certain air of regularity, marked the immediate presence of the sovereign.

The small apartment, much out of repair, into which we were huddled, now witnessed a scene, I believe, unparalleled in the history of diplomacy. Lord Amherst had scarcely taken his seat, when Chang delivered a message from Ho (Koong yay), informing him that the emperor wished to see the ambassador, his son, and the commissioners, immediately. Much surprise was naturally expressed: the previous arrangement for the eighth of the Chinese month, a period certainly much too early for comfort, was adverted to, and the utter impossibility of his excellency appearing in his present state of fatigue, inanition, and deficiency of every necessary equipment was strongly urged. Chang was very unwilling to be the bearer of this answer, but was finally obliged to consent.

Some other messages were interchanged between the Koong-yay and Lord Amherst, who, in addition to the reasons already given, stated the indecorum and irregularity of his appearing without his credentials. In his reply to this, it was said, that, in the proposed audience, the emperor merely wished to see the ambassador, and had no intention of entering upon business. Lord Amherst having persisted in expressing the inadmissibility of the proposition, and in transmitting, through the Koong-yay, an humble request to his imperial majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to wait till to-morrow, Chang and another mandarin finally proposed, that his excellency should go over to the Koong-yay's apartments, from whence a reference might be made to the emperor. Lord Amherst, having alleged bodily illness as one of the reasons for declining the audience, readily saw, that, if he went to the Koong-yay, this plea, which, to the Chinese (though now scarcely admitted), was, in general, the most forcible, would cease to avail him, positively declined compliance: this produced a visit from

the Koong-yay, who, too much interested and agitated to heed ceremony, stood by Lord Amherst, and used every argument to induce him to obey the emperor's commands. Among the topics, he used that of being received with our own ceremony, using the Chinese words, "*ne muntihlee*," your own ceremony. All proved ineffectual; with some roughness, but, under pretext of friendly violence, he laid hands upon Lord Amherst, to take him from the room; another mandarin followed his example. His lordship, with great firmness and dignity of manner, shook them off, declaring, that nothing but the extreme violence should induce him to quit that room, for any other place but the residence assigned to him; adding, that he was so overcome by fatigue and bodily illness, as absolutely to require repose.

A message arrived soon after the Koong-yay's quitting the room, to say that the emperor dispensed with the ambassador's attendance; that he had further been pleased to direct his physician to afford his excellency every medical assistance that his illness might require. The Koong-yay himself soon followed, and his excellency proceeded to the carriage.

The house of Sung-ta-jin, selected for our residence, was exceedingly commodious, and pleasantly situated, with flowers and trees near the principal apartments. Its aspect was so agreeable that we could not but look forward with some satisfaction to remaining there a few days. Such, however, was not to be our fate: before two hours had elapsed, a report was brought, that opposition was made by the Chinese to unloading the carts; and soon after the mandarins announced, that the emperor, incensed by the ambassador's refusal to attend him according to his commands, had given orders for our immediate departure. The order was so peremptory, that no alteration was proposed: in vain was the fatigue of every individual of the embassy pleaded; no consideration was allowed to weigh against the positive commands of the emperor. Chang at one time said, that even compliance with the tartar ceremony would now be unavailing.

I have forgotten to mention that the Emperor's physician actually visited Lord Amherst immediately on his arrival at Sung-ta-jin's, and to his report of the alledged indisposition being a mere pretext, the emperor's sudden ebullition of rage may partly be attributed; for my own part, I cannot refrain from thinking, that

that the promise given at Tong-chow, was a mere deception, and that the real intention was, either to bring us into the Emperor's presence, under circumstances so inconvenient and indecorous, as to render it perfectly indifferent what ceremony we went through, or by confusion and personal violence, to compel the performance of the ko-tou ; or else the Emperor, anticipating Lord Amherst's refusal of immediate attendance, may have proposed it as a pretext for his dismissal : if this latter supposition be correct, the success has been complete, for the proposal was so unreasonable, and the manner in which it was pressed so insulting, that neither public duty, nor personal honour, would have allowed Lord Amherst to act otherwise than he did.*

PEKIN.

We had a good view of the walls of Pekin on our return ; like those of Tong-chow, they are built of brick, with a foundation of stone ; they are of considerable thickness, the body of them being of mud, so that the masonry may be considered a facing ; there is not, however, sufficient strength at the top to allow of guns of large calibre being mounted in the embrasures. At all the gates, and at certain intervals, there are towers of immense height, with four ranges of embrasures, intended for cannon : I saw none actually mounted, but in their stead there were some imitations in wood. Besides the tower, a wooden building of several stories marked the gateways ; one of these buildings was highly decorated, the projecting roofs, diminishing in size according to their height, were covered with green or yellow tiles, that had a very brilliant effect under the rays of the sun. A wet ditch skirted a part of the walls round which we were carried. Pekin is situated in a plain, its lofty walls, with their numerous bastions and stupendous towers, certainly give it an imposing appearance, not unworthy the capital of a great empire. On the side near the Hai-teen, we crossed a large common, wholly uncultivated ; a remarkable circumstance, so near Pekin. There are large tracts of ground

covered with the nelumbium, or water-lily, near the walls, which, from the luxuriant vegetation of this plant, are extremely grateful to the eye. The Tartarean mountains, with their blue and immeasurable summits, are the finest objects in the vicinity of Pekin : to many of the party the streets of Pekin might be the great points of attraction, but to myself a visit to this stupendous range would be a source of much higher gratification.

IMPERIAL COURTESY.

Chang, late in the evening, came to Lord Amherst, hinting that some presents from the Emperor to the Prince Regent had been received by the Chin-chaes. They soon followed, bearing with them the intended presents, consisting of a large joo-ye, or sceptre, formed of a stone allied to agate, greenish-white in colour, and symbolically expressive of contentment ; the handle of the joo-ye is flat and carved, not very unlike that of a ladle ; the top is of a circular shape, something like the leaf of the water-lily : there was also a mandarin's necklace, of green and red stones, and a few beads of coral, with a red ornament, set round with pearls, attached to it ; to these were added, a few embroidered purses. The imperial commissioners in delivering these presents, communicated the emperor's wish to have a few articles in return. The articles selected were the picture of the King and Queen, a case of maps, and some coloured prints.

GROUNDS OF DISMISSAL.

Lord Amherst requested to be informed what account he was to give of his dismissal to his sovereign : the only reason assigned was, his refusal to obey the emperor's commands, respecting his immediate attendance, which was described as a mark of peculiar favour : in reply, the circumstances that had occurred, were adverted to, but the discussion was not protracted, the mandarins being more anxious to exculpate themselves from having had any share in the transactions of which we complained, than to examine the causes or justice of our dismissal.

We learn from the linguist Achow, that our dismissal is attributed to the rudeness with which we treated the princes and other persons of distinction that came to visit us ; they made an unsavourable report to the emperor, and probably assigned the worst motive for our reluctance to attend him immediately. I must confess, this does not seem improbable.

TIEN-

* We are of a totally different opinion, and think this reasoning futile and absurd. The ceremony should have been complied with, or the ambassador should not have been sent. The refusal to attend the emperor was, at least, very ungracious. Lord Amherst's personal feelings were out of the question.—ED.

TIEN-SING.

I had a short walk through the quarter of the town nearest to us, but did not succeed in getting across the water, the soldiers ordering one of the boats forming the bridge to slip as we approached. The druggists' shops were well furnished; too extensively, I should suppose, from the low estate of medical knowledge in China, for the health of their patients. Butchers' shops were remarkably clean, and the meat looked so good, that I suspect our supplies must be of a very inferior quality to what might be procured. Exterior appearance is so exclusively the object of attention, that the axes carried before the police officers are merely painted wood: indeed, the whole paraphernalia of magistracy resemble gingerbread ornaments, or masquerade decoration. The streets of Tien-sing are narrow, and the dead walls of all the dwelling-houses facing the street, give them a most gloomy appearance; in wet weather they become a perfect slough. Our olfactory nerves will have been so saturated with stench, that the absence of smell will probably overpower us when restored to a pure atmosphere: there literally prevails a compound of villainous stenches, and this constitutes one of the principal inconveniences of the crowd that gather round us.

A second walk through the suburbs did not afford much additional amusement or observation: a funeral passed us, accompanied by mourners, male and female, whose grief was so violent and regular timed, that I concluded them to be hired; the women were in chairs, covered with white cloth, the mourning colour in China; the caps on the heads of the mourners were shaped like the working caps of mechanics in England: I was disappointed in the coffin itself, which was quite plain; the frame that supported it was gilt, and made of immense beams of timber; some figures of women, nearly as large as life, and full drest, were carried in the front; on the outside of the bier I remarked a gilt head-piece of wood, probably indicating the profession of the deceased.

In a cabinet-maker's shop we saw some handsome chairs of carved wood, decorated with peacocks; the plumage was real, and only the bodies artificial; the legs hung down from the top, not unlike fowls in a poulterer's shop. I could not succeed in purchasing a large glass-case, filled with gilt toys, representing Chinese ladies and gentlemen, boats, bridges, and all the features

of the country residence of a man of rank.

The occupations of mealman and miller seemed joined here, as we observed all kinds of grain grinding in a mill turned by an ass, in the shops where the original article was sold: the upper millstone is large and cylindrical, and, to its extreme ends, ropes are fastened, by which the ass draws; the flour thus ground was coarse. We shall, in future, in making purchases, be particularly on our guard against the soldiers who accompany us; they always encouraged, and in some instances suggested, the impositions of the shopkeepers, for the purpose of having a large booty to share. A Chinese dwelling house is, as I have already said, shut towards the street by the outward wall; and even when the gate is opened, a skreen of masonry fronting the entrance, and considerably exceeding it in width, intercepts the view; these houses are divided into courts, each forming a range of apartments; a large hall, and small rooms leading from it, is the most usual distribution. Great variety of articles were sold in every shop, and, except the druggists, I observed few shops appropriated to the sale of one commodity only. A black mass, looking like caviare, proved to be soy mixed with salt, with something to give the mixture consistency. In examining the tools of the mechanics, and the interiors of the shops, I was struck with the extreme correctness with all the accounts I have read of China. Scientific researches may be scanty, but every thing that meets the eye of the mere traveller in China, has been described with the utmost accuracy.

OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE.

Chang performed his promise of sending a copy of the Gazette to Sir George Staunton, by whom it was translated. The paragraph respecting the embassy began by censuring Soo and Kwang, for bringing the ambassador beyond Tien-sing, without his having complied with the required ceremonies. Ho and Moo were also blamed, for allowing him to proceed from Tong-chow without his having practised the ceremony; and for sending confused reports. The emperor then remarks upon the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen, and severely repreends Ho, for having concealed the truth from him; and for not stating the fact of the English envoys having travelled all night, and being unprovided with their dresses of ceremony. Had this been communicated, the emperor asserts, "that he would

would not have insisted upon their attendance till the next day; thus the ceremony would have been complete, and a return made corresponding to the feelings that had brought them from a distance of ten thousand leagues to his court." He is said to have lost his senses, and the officers of government are blamed for not having set him right; or, if he had proved obstinate in error, for not communicating the truth to the emperor. His Majesty also mentions, that all the great officers of state were waiting in the anti-chamber to assist at the audience. The account concludes with some general reflections upon the evils attending such concealment and neglect of duty in the officers of government.

POPULATION.

I must confess that my daily impression is not that of the superabundant population assigned by most authors to China; I should almost affirm that the population was not more than proportionate to the land under cultivation, a ratio very inferior to that usually assigned.

NANKIN.

22d of October.—I walked through the suburb, near which we are anchored; the streets are paved, but the shops of an inferior description, evidently intended to supply the wants of the boats at the anchorage. As elsewhere in China, the number of public eating-houses seem to exceed that of private dwellings; and the only local difference is, the quantity of ducks and geese, ready drest and glazed, exposed for sale. Vegetables were plentiful, principally turnips, radishes, and coarse greens. The principal manufactures in the city are crapes and silks.

A street leads from the river to the gate of the city, through which we were allowed to pass and ascend the hill. On the left of the entrance from which, the walls of the city, the celebrated porcelain tower, and two others of less consequence, are visible: the view is very extensive, and from the variety of the ground immediately below us, diversified with woods and buildings, contrasted with the range of mountains bounding the horizon, is truly striking. The course of the river, divided by an island at this point, is distinguishable, and still continues the great feature of the scene.

Nankin (now called Kian-ning-foo) is rapidly decaying, but the Yang-tse-kiang, upon whose banks it is situated, and to which it originally owed its great-

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ness, still rolls his mighty waters, undiminished by foreign conquest, and unaffected by subverted empire. The inhabited part of the town is twenty lees from the gate through which we entered; the intervening space, though still crossed by paved roads, being occupied in gardens and bamboo groves, with few houses interspersed. This gate is a simple archway, thirty-five paces broad, the height of the wall forty feet, and its width seventeen. Near the gate are two large temples; that dedicated to Kwan-yin, and called Tsing-hai-tze, or Quiet-sea College, is interesting from the superior execution of the figures of Chinese philosophers and saints surrounding the great hall; though not less than twenty in number, they were all in different attitudes, and yet all highly expressive; two looked, both in features and dress, not unlike Roman sages.

23d of October.—Three gentlemen of the embassy and myself succeeded in passing completely through the uninhabited part of the city of Nankin, and reaching the gateway visible from the Lion hill; our object was to have penetrated through the streets to the Porcelain Tower, apparently distant two miles; to this, however, the soldiers who accompanied us, and who, from the willingness in allowing us to proceed thus far, were entitled to consideration, made so many objections that we desisted, and contented ourselves with proceeding to a temple on a neighbouring hill, from which we had a very complete view of the city. We observed a triple wall, not, however, completely surrounding the city. The gateway which we had just quitted would seem to have belonged to the second wall, that in this place had entirely disappeared. The inhabited part of the city of Nankin is situated towards the angle of the mountains, and even within its precincts contains many gardens. I observed four principal streets intersected at right angles by smaller; through one of the larger a narrow canal flows, crossed at intervals by bridges of a single arch; the streets were not spacious, but had an appearance of unusual cleanliness. Another gateway, and the Porcelain Tower itself, are the only buildings of sufficient height to fix the eye.

I was much pleased with the whole scene; the area under our view could not be less than thirty miles, throughout diversified with groves, houses, cultivation, and hills; this expanse might be said to be enclosed within the exterior

I wall,

wall, and formed an irregular polygon. The horizon was bounded by mountains, and the waters of the Yang-tse-kiang.

In viewing this city, striking from its situation and extent, and important from its having been the capital of an immense empire, I felt most forcibly the deficiency of interest in every thing relating to China, from the whole being unconnected with classical or chivalrous recollections. Here are no temples, once decorated, and still bearing marks of the genius of Phidias and Praxiteles, no sites of forums once filled with the eloquence of Cicero or Demosthenes, no plains once stained with the sacred blood of patriots and heroes; no, it is antiquity without dignity or veneration, and continuous civilization without generosity or refinement.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

4th of January.—We this day received from Macao a Portuguese translation of an imperial edict addressed to the Viceroy of Canton respecting the embassy. In this document, the dismissal of the embassy was entirely attributed to the misconduct of the ambassador and the commissioners. The viceroy was directed to effect our removal as soon as possible, but to give the ambassador an entertainment, consistent with the rules of hospitality, before his departure: the viceroy was further directed on that occasion to make a speech to the ambassador, the tenor of which might fairly be said to amount to a reprimand. The spirit of this edict materially differed from the others we had seen, inasmuch as the whole blame was shifted from the mandarins to the ambassador and commissioners, whom it affected to treat as culprits.

DISMISSAL FROM CANTON.

7th of January.—About one o'clock the interview with the viceroy took place. The emperor's letter, inclosed in a bamboo, and covered with yellow silk, was delivered in the principal hall of the temple by the viceroy standing, into the ambassador's hands, by whom it was received with a profound bow; they then proceeded to a smaller apartment fitted up for the occasion, where a short conversation took place, only remarkable for a momentary attempt made by the viceroy to assume the tone of arrogance that had been anticipated, which, being immediately resisted, was quietly abandoned. The particular expression was the assertion, on his part, of the superior advantages, or rather the absolute necessity of the Chinese trade to England: in reply, his Excellency contended for

the reciprocal benefits to the commerce of both nations. The viceroy declined to prolong the discussion, admitting that it might be mutually disagreeable, and the interview terminated with some unmeaning and formal wishes for the continuance of friendship. Fruits and other refreshments were spread out in an opposite apartment, and, being pointed out by the viceroy to his Excellency as the expected entertainment, were not declined. On this occasion the manner of the viceroy fully answered the description we had received; it was cold, haughty, and hostile. He was evidently performing a disagreeable duty, and had great apparent difficulty in resisting the expression of his feelings at conduct which he must have considered the unwarrantable arrogance of barbarians towards the greatest sovereign of the universe.

We were naturally anxious to examine the letter from the emperor, which proved to be written in Chinese, Tartar, and Latin; it was, as usual, styled a mandate to the King of England, but, with that exception, was much less assuming than might have been expected; in fact it was, on the whole, not more objectionable than that addressed by Kien-lung to his Majesty. A very false statement of the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen was given, the dismissal being attributed to pertinacious and successive refusal of the ambassador and commissioners to attend the emperor, under an absurd pretext of sickness.

CHINESE MERCHANTS AT CANTON.

On the 12th, we visited the villas of Puan-ke-qua and How-qua, the two chief Hong merchants, both situated near the temple in which we are quartered; the former, to which we first went, was interesting as a specimen of Chinese taste in laying out grounds; the great object is to produce as much variety within a small compass as possible, and to furnish pretexts for excursions or entertainment. Puan-ke-qua was surrounded by his children and grand-children, the latter in such complete full dress of mandarins, that they could with difficulty waddle under the weight of clothes: a small pavilion was erected at the extremity of the garden overlooking the farin, in which was an inscription calling upon the rich to recollect and appreciate the agricultural labours of the poor.

How-qua's house, though not yet finished, was on a scale of magnificence worthy of his fortune, estimated at two millions. This villa, or rather palace, is divided

divided into suites of apartments, highly and tastefully decorated with gilding and carved work, and placed in situations adapted to the different seasons of the year. Some refreshments of fruit and cakes were put before us here as at Puan-ke-qua's. How-qua and his brother, a mandarin holding some office, waited upon us themselves. A nephew of How-qua had lately distinguished himself at the examination for civil honours, and placards (like those of office used by the mandarins) announcing his success in the legal forms, were placed round the outer court: two bands attended to salute the ambassador on his entrance and departure. Within the inclosure of the garden stand the ruins of the house occupied by Lord Macartney, separated only by a wall from our present residence; it belonged, I believe, to the father of How-qua. The houses of both Puan-ke-qua and How-qua contained halls of their ancestors, with tablets dedicated to their immediate progenitors; the vessels for sacrifice and other parts of their worship, were similar to those we had before seen, but in something better order, and of better materials.

Puan-ke-qua and How-qua are both remarkable men among their fraternity: while the former is supposed to excel in the conduct of business with the mandarins, the mercantile knowledge of the latter stands highest; indeed the enormous fortune he has accumulated is a sufficient proof of his talents in this respect. Puan-ke-qua, though advanced in years, retains much of the vigour of youth, and he shewed with great pride his youngest daughter, a child of not more than two years old, to the ambassador; he took no pains to conceal his sense of his mental and personal qualities, and, while he asserted the privileges of age by his garrulity, did not seem to admit his being subject to any of its infirmities. How-qua's person and looks bespoke that his great wealth had not been accumulated without proportionate anxiety. He is generally supposed parsimonious, but neither his house nor its furniture agreed with the imputation; his domestic establishment, we were informed, consisted of between two and three hundred persons daily feeding at his expense.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The best criterion of the general diffusion of national prosperity, will probably be found in the proportion which the middling order bears to the other classes of the community, and the number of

persons in all large villages and cities, who, from their dress and appearance, we might fairly say belonged to this description, is certainly considerable throughout those parts of China visited by the embassy, the northern being in all these respects inferior to the middle and southern provinces.

Instances of poverty, and of extreme wretchedness doubtless occurred in our progress. On me, however, who always compared China with Turkey, Persia, and parts of India, and not with England or even with continental Europe, an impression was produced highly favourable to the comparative situation of the lower orders; and of that degree of distress which might drive parents to infanticide, there was no appearance, nor did any fact of the description come to my knowledge.

My impressions at different periods of our journey upon the subject of population have been already noticed, and the result is a firm conviction that the amount has been much over stated; the visible population did not exceed the quantity of land under actual cultivation, while much land, capable of tillage, was left neglected; and, with respect to the overwhelming crowds usually observed in the larger cities, when I considered that these were drawn together by such an extraordinary spectacle as that of an European embassy, I was disposed to infer that most capitals in Europe would present as numerous an assemblage.

The frequency of considerable towns and large villages is the circumstance which, to me, both marked the comparative population, and prosperity of China, in this point certainly surpassing even our own country; but it is at the same time to be recollected, that our journey passed through the great line of communication between the extreme provinces of the empire; and that consequently a different conclusion might arise from an examination of those provinces occupying a less favourable situation.

I have been informed, that the most accurate Chinese accounts state the amount of the population as considerably below two hundred millions, and there is no reason to suspect them of any intention to underrate a circumstance so materially connected with their national greatness.

If foreign commerce is but little encouraged in China, the principles of the home trade appear to be better understood; at least, the villages were, with few exceptions, admirably well supplied

with all the more immediate necessities and indeed comforts of life. Much arrangement must be required to secure a regular supply of many of these articles brought from the distant provinces; and, although the extensive communication by water affords unusual facilities, the existence of the fact, is a sufficient proof of the uniform and successful employment of a large capital, in the most important object of national economy.

The foreign relations of China are probably more confined than those of any other country of the same extent to be met with in the history of the world. Domestic manners and daily habits are so intimately interwoven with the frame of Chinese polity, that the principle rigidly maintained by the government of discouraging intercourse with foreigners, is neither so unreasonable nor so unnecessary, as might, at first sight, be imagined. This great empire is, no doubt, held together by the force of moral similarity, produced by a series of minute observances, levelling both the better energies and evil passions of the people to a standard of unnatural uniformity; the improvement or vitiation that might result from unrestricted communication with other nations would be equally fatal to the stability of such a system, and are consequently natural objects of jealousy to the government.

China, from its extent and the variety of its soil and productions, is independent of other countries for a supply of the necessities, comforts, and almost luxuries of life; no adequate motive, therefore, exists for the encouragement of foreign relations directed to commercial purposes: and, as a state of repose, both external and internal, is most adapted to its political constitution, this is perhaps best secured by drawing a line of moral, as well as territorial demarcation, between its subjects and those of other nations.

Religion in China, although addressed in all directions to the eye, did not appear to have much influence upon the understanding or passions of the people. It has all the looseness and vanity, with less of the solemnity and decency of ancient Polytheism. Their temples are applied to so many purposes, that it is difficult to imagine how any degree of sanctity can be attached either to the dwellings or persons of their deities. The influence of superstition is, however, general and extensive; it is displayed in acts of divination, and in propitiatory offerings to local or patron deities. Its observances belong rather to the

daily manners than to the moral conduct of the people. The chief difficulty which I should think Christianity would find to diffusion in China, would be the impossibility of exciting that degree of interest essential to its effectual and permanent establishment.

MANILLA.

The bay of Manilla is exceedingly fine, but the appearance of the town itself, from the ships, disappointed me. Corridor Island, and the fort and buildings of Cavita, are striking objects. On landing, the scene had at least the merits of being unlike any we had yet seen. The projecting balconies, and the oyster-shell windows of the houses, are the most remarkable circumstance; the churches are large and rather handsome edifices. In the cathedral we saw some fine church plate; among the rest, a pix formed of valuable diamonds.

That the colony was Spanish sufficiently appeared from the swarms of monks, of all ages and colours, in the streets. My personal observation does not allow me to pronounce respecting the state of information amongst the clergy. I have been told, that learning is confined to the monks, and that the parochial clergy, as they are generally natives, scarcely surpass their flocks in knowledge. The archbishop, to whom the ambassador paid a visit, was a good-natured old man, who appeared to take considerable interest in European politics; it was impossible to convince him that the English had not been accessory to the escape of Bonaparte from Elba. Though wretchedly poor and ignorant, the parochial clergy have, from the natural influence of superstition, and from their constant residence, great influence amongst the lower orders, and the government find it their interest to conciliate them. Much credit is due to the Spaniards for the establishment of schools throughout the colony, and their unremitting exertion to preserve and propagate Christianity by this best of all possible means, the diffusion of knowledge.

A tropical climate might, perhaps, have relaxed the Spanish gravity; but I must confess, that my previous notions had not led me to expect the boisterous mirth which prevailed at the governor's table among the Spanish gentlemen during dinner. Although wanting in decorum, the scene was not unpleasant, as the noise arose entirely from an overflow of hilarity. In the evening we had Spanish dances, and some singing, accompanied on the guitar. The natives

of Manilla are passionately fond of music and dancing, and in both they blend their own with European taste.

On the 6th of February we made an excursion across the Bahia lake, to the village of Los Bagnos, where are some warm baths, celebrated for the high natural temperature of the water. We breakfasted at the monastery of Tegae, at the entrance of the lake. The banks of the river were exceedingly beautiful, from the rich verdure and fine trees.

In the evening one of the Spanish gentlemen procured us the amusement of a native dance. The style of dancing was not unlike that of India, with, however, more animation and expression. The dances were pantomimic, and exhibiting the progress of a courtship, from early coyness and difficulty to final success. The girls were not unacquainted with European dances; one of them danced the minuet *de la cour*, and, considering that the scene was in a bamboo hut, in the midst of a sequestered Luconian village, the circumstance was not without interest. Those who danced were all natives of the village, and were guarded by the jealous attendance of their lovers, whose long knives, seen under their clothes, warned us that they were prepared to assert their prior rights.

This colony is, at present, a burthen to the mother country, and annual importations of specie are required from New Spain to defray the civil and military charges. I was informed by an intelligent Spanish gentleman, that the military establishment, though not efficient in the description of force, was excessive in point of numbers, and that there are too many officers to allow of their being adequately paid. The garrison is entirely composed of natives, well armed, and, as far as parade-appearance goes, well disciplined. The Luconians are naturally brave and desperate, and might be depended upon. Twelve thousand men is stated to be the amount of the armed force distributed through the island: amongst these is a corps of archers, employed in night attacks against the few unsubdued native tribes, who sometimes molest the more peaceable inhabitants of the lower country.

Monopolies of tobacco and other articles, together with a tax on spirituous liquors, are the principal sources of revenue to government: the land-rent is so trifling, as scarcely to stimulate the tenant to continued industry. The trade of the Philippine company is confined to the two

annual register ships, and the general commerce is in the hands of the English, Americans, and Portuguese. Manilla is the natural emporium of trade between India, China, and the New World, and, in the possession of a more enlightened nation, would be the seat of commercial wealth and activity. The soil is adapted to all the productions of India: cotton might be grown there to any extent, and the contiguity would enable the exporters to supply the Chinese market at a cheaper rate than their competitors. The coffee is excellent, and of easy cultivation. Piece goods are the principal import from India; the return is in specie. I have no doubt that a much larger revenue might be raised, as in India, from the land, not only to the great relief of the finances, but even to the benefit of the mass of the population, who want the stimulus of necessity to produce exertion. The only extensive manufactures that came within my knowledge, were those of segars, or rolled tobacco, and a sort of transparent cloth, worn by the natives as shirts. Very handsome gold chains are also made here, chiefly by women; indeed, the workmanship is so delicate, that it seems to require female fingers for the execution.

Some loose reports gave us reason to suppose, that the spirit of independence had been partially excited among the colonists by the example of Spanish America, and that they only waited the result to manifest it in open revolt. The popular character of Don Folgeras, the acting governor, will, if he is confirmed, prove a security, for the present, to the mother country.

COREA.

Corea, called Kao-li by the Chinese, is bounded on the north by Man-tchoo Tartary, on the west by Leo-tong: the line of separation on this side is marked by a palisade of wood, and it has not been unusual to leave a portion of land on the frontiers unclaimed by either nation. Other accounts describe the river Ya-lou as the boundary; the extent from east to west is said to be one hundred and twenty leagues; and, from north to south, two hundred and twenty, or six degrees of longitude and nine degrees of latitude, from forty-three to thirty-four degrees north latitude. It may, however, be asserted on the authority of the late voyage, that the number of degrees of longitude is too great. Fong-houng-ching, in latitude forty-two degrees, thirty miles, and twenty seconds

conds, longitude seven degrees forty-two minutes east from the meridian of Pekin, is the only point fixed by the astronomical observations of the Missionary Pere Regis, who accompanied a Tartar general to the frontier, and possessed himself of some Chinese maps. This country was brought under subjection by the Chinese in the year 1120 before the Christian era, from which period it has continued a connexion more or less intimate, according to the political situation of the superior state.

It has been the object of the Emperors of China, to reduce Corea to the situation of a province; in this they have never succeeded for any length of time; and the present has most generally been the state of the relation between the countries; that of a state governed by native hereditary monarchs, holding under a lord paramount, on condition of the ceremony of homage, and the payment of a small tribute. The Japanese, for a time, established themselves in some provinces of Corea, but seem to have abandoned their conquest, from the difficulty of maintaining a possession so distant from their resources.

Corea was subdued by the Man-tchoo Tartars, before the conquest of China was attempted, and their tributary connexion has suffered no interruption since the establishment of the Ta-tsing dynasty. On the death of the King of Corea, his successor does not assume the title until an application for investiture has been made, and granted by the court of Pekin. A mandarin of rank is deputed as the emperor's representative, and the regal dignity is conferred on the candidate kneeling: the ceremony altogether nearly resembles the feudal homage of ancient Europe. Several articles, the production of the country, and eight hundred taels or ounces of silver, are immediately offered by the king, either as a fee of investiture, or as the commencement of the tribute: the name of the reigning family is Li, and the title is Kou-i-wang. The Corean sovereign is entirely independent in the internal administration of his country. In regard to foreign policy, the active interference of China may be inferred from the opposition made by the Coreans in the instance of Captain Maxwell, to any communication with the interior of the country; an opposition, as has already been remarked, evidently arising from the positive laws of the kingdom. Corea is divided into eight provinces, and these into minor jurisdictions. The capital, King-

ki-tao, is situated in the centre of the kingdom. The principal rivers are the Ya-lou and Tamen-oula.

China has communicated her laws and municipal regulations to the Coreans; but, while they concur in the honours paid to the memory of Confucius, they wisely reject the absurd idolatry of Fo, and the attendant burthen of an ignorant and contemptible priesthood.

Embassadors are dispatched at stated periods by the King of Corea, to pay, in his name, homage to his paramount, and to convey the regular tribute. This consists of ginseng, zibelines, paper made from cotton, much preferred, from its strength, for windows, and a few other articles the produce of the country. There is reason to believe that the tribute is rather sought for as a mark of subjection, than a branch of revenue. The Corean ambassadors do not take precedence of mandarins of the second rank, and are most strictly watched during their stay in China. It is somewhat singular, that equal restrictions are imposed in Corea upon the representative of the emperor. Corea is said in the missionary's account to export gold, silver, iron, ginseng, a yellow varnish obtained from a species of palm-tree, zibelines, castors, pens, paper, and fossil salt. The statement respecting the metals may be doubted; for, while no ornaments made from the precious metals were observed amongst the natives, they refused to take dollars in exchange for their cattle; and, from the sparing use of iron on their tools, a scarcity of that useful metal may also be inferred.

The present Corean dress is that of the last Chinese dynasty; a robe with long and large sleeves, fastened by a girdle, and a hat of broad brim and conical crown; their boots are of silk, cotton, or leather. The Corean language differs both from Tartar and Chinese, but the latter character is in general use. The appearance of the natives is described by the last accounts as more warlike than that of the Chinese, and the attendants of the Corean chief, with whom some communication took place, seemed to use a sword with dexterity.

LOO-CHOO.

The kingdom of Loo-choo is composed of several islands, the principal being the Great Loo-choo, and the limits southward being marked by the extremity of the Pa-tchou Chain, lat. $24^{\circ} 6'$ north; longitude $123^{\circ} 52'$ east. The capital, and residence of the sovereign, is at

Kin-

Kin-ching, a town distant five miles inland from Napaking roads.

With few exceptions, the same system of laws appear to exist in China and the Loo-choo islands: the mandarins of the latter, however, are hereditary, and legal engagements are contracted before certain stones, supposed to have a connexion with Téen-fun, the author of civilization, and founder of religion in these islands. The emperor Cang-hi introduced the religion of Fo, but the honours paid to the memory of Confucius are probably coeval with the introduction of the Chinese character and language; these are in general use among the learned, and necessarily in all addresses to the court of Pekin; but the Japanese character, Y-ro-fa, is employed in all official and private business within the Loo-choo dominions. The colloquial language is a dialect of Japanese, and the style of building is borrowed from the same source.

The vegetable productions of China, but in greater proportionate variety and abundance, are common to the Loo-choo islands. Sulphur, salt, copper, and tin, are also found in the latter, and constituted formerly a considerable export to China and Japan.

The public revenue is levied from the land; the actual cultivator is allowed half the produce, and the seed is furnished by the proprietors. Mineral productions are monopolised by the king, and, united to the customs and royal domains, form his personal revenue.

Recent observations have confirmed and heightened the favourable impression received from the Chinese accounts of the moral character and natural talents of Loo-choo-yan; they are remarkable for primitive manners, kindness, and good temper. In the mechanical arts they are fully equal, if not superior, to the Chinese; and their ready acquirement of new ideas is said to be beyond either the apt imitation of savages, or the ordinary exertion of intellect, improved by civilization.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

Translation of an Imperial Edict, dated the 15th Day of the 7th Moon of the 21st Year (6th September, 1816) of Kea-King, addressed to the Viceroy Tsiang and the Foo-yuen Tung of Canton; received the 5th of the 8th Moon (25th Sept.)

The English ambassadors, upon their arrival at Tien-sing, have not observed the laws of politeness in return for the

invitation of the emperor. At Tung-chow (four leagues from the court) they gave assurances of readiness to perform the prostration and genuflexion required by the laws of good manners of the country, and arrived at the imperial country-house (half a league from court); and, when we were upon the point of repairing to the hall to receive the embassy, the first as well as the second ambassador, under pretence of ill health, would not appear. We, in consequence, passed a decree that they should be sent away upon their return. We, however, reflecting that, although the said ambassadors were blameable, in not observing the laws of politeness, towards the sovereign of their country, who from an immense distance, and over various seas, had sent to offer us presents, and to present with respect his letters indicating a wish to shew us due consideration and obedience, contempt was improper, and against the maxim to shew lenity to our inferiors; in consequence, from amongst the presents of the said king, we chose the most trifling and insignificant, which are four maps, two portraits, and ninety-five engravings; and, in order to gratify him, have accepted them. We, in return, as a reward, presented to the said king a Yu-Yu, a string of rare stones, two pairs of large purses, and four pairs of small ones; and we order the ambassadors to receive these gifts, and to return to their kingdom: having so enacted in observance of the maxim of Confucius, "give much, receive little."

When the Embassadors received the said gifts, they became exceeding glad, and evinced their repentance. They have already quitted Tong-chow: upon their arrival at Canton, you, Tsiang and Tung, will invite them to dinner, in compliance with good manners, and will make the following speech to them:

"Your good fortune has been small: you arrived at the gates of the imperial house, and were unable to lift your eyes to the face of heaven (the emperor).

"The great emperor reflected that your king sighed after happiness (China), and acted with sincerity. We therefore accepted some presents, and gifted your king with various precious articles. You must return thanks to the emperor for his benefits, and return with speed to your kingdom, that your king may feel a respectful gratitude for these acts of kindness. Take care to embark the rest of the presents with safety, that they may not be lost or destroyed."

After

After this lecture, should the ambassador supplicate you to receive the remainder of the presents, answer, in one word, a decree has passed; we therefore dare not present troublesome petitions, and with decision you will rid yourself of them.

Respect this.

SHAKSPEARE
AND
HIS TIMES;
Including the Biography of the Poet; Criticisms on his Genius and Writings; a new Chronology of his Plays; a Disquisition on the Object of his Sonnets;
AND
*A HISTORY OF
THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND
AMUSEMENTS,
SUPERSTITIONS, POETRY, AND ELEGANT
LITERATURE OF HIS AGE.*
BY NATHAN DRAKE, M. D.

Author of "Literary Hours," and of "Essays on Periodical Literature."

2 VOL. 4to.*

A COUNTRY-GENTLEMAN'S MANSION-
HOUSE IN 1595.

THE mansion-houses of the country-gentlemen were, in the days of Shakspeare, rapidly improving both in their external appearance, and in their interior comforts. During the reign of Henry the Eighth, and even of Mary, they were, if we except their size, little better than cottages, being thatched buildings, covered on the outside with the coarsest clay, and lighted only by lattices; when Harrison wrote, in the age of Elizabeth, though the greater number of manor-houses still remained framed of timber, yet he observes, "such as be latelie builded, are comonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both; their roomes large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings." The old timber mansions, too, were now covered with the finest plaster, which, says the historian, "beside the delectable whitenesse of the stufte it selfe, is laied on so even and smoothlie, as nothing in my judgment can be done with more exactnesse;" and at the same time, the windows, interior decorations, and furniture, were becoming greatly more useful and elegant.

The house of every country-gentleman of property included a neat chapel and a spacious hall; and where the estate and establishment were consider-

able, the mansion was divided into two parts or sides, one for the state or banqueting-rooms, and the other for the household; but in general, the latter, except in baronial residences, was the only part to be met with, and when complete had the addition of parlours; thus Bacon, in his *Essay on Buildings*, describing the household side of a mansion, says, "I wish it divided at the first into a hall, and a chappell, with a partition betweene; both of good state and bignesse: and those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the further end, a winter and a summer parler, both faire: and under these roomes a faire and large cellar, sunke under ground: and likewise, some privie kitchins, with butteries and pantries, and the like." It was the custom also to have windows opening from the parlours and passages into the chapel, hall, and kitchen, with the view of overlooking or controlling what might be going on; a trait of vigilant caution, which may still be discovered in some of our ancient colleges and manor-houses, and to which Shakspeare alludes in *King Henry the Eighth*, where he describes his Majesty and Butts the physician entering at a window above, which overlooks the council-chamber. We may add, in illustration of this system of architectural espionage, that Andrew Borde, when giving instructions for building a house in his *Dictarie of Health*, directs "many of the chambers to have a view into the chapel;" and that Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter, dated 1573, says, "if it please her Majestie, she may come in through my gallerie, and see the disposition of the hall in dynner-tyme, at a window opening thereunto."

The hall of the country-squire was the usual scene of eating and hospitality, at the upper end of which was placed the orsille or high table, a little elevated above the floor, and here the master of the mansion presided, with an authority, if not a state, which almost equalled that of the potent baron. The table was divided into upper and lower messes, by a huge saltcellar, and the rank and consequence of the visitors were marked by the situation of the seats above and below the saltcellar; a custom which not only distinguished the relative dignity of the guests, but extended likewise to the nature of the provision, the wine frequently circulating only above the saltcellar, and the dishes below it being of a coarser kind than those near the head of the table.

* See *Proemium*, p. 540.

MAY-DAY.

The observance of May-day was a custom which, until the close of the reign of James the First, alike attracted the attention of the royal and the noble, as of the vulgar class. Henry the Eighth, Elizabeth, and James, patronized and partook of its ceremonies; and, during this extended era, there was scarcely a village in the kingdom but what had a *May-pole*, with its appropriate games and dances.

The origin of these festivities has been attributed to three different sources, *Classic*, *Celtic*, and *Gothic*. The first appears to us to establish the best claim to the parentage of our May-day rites, as a relique of the *Roman Floralia*, which were celebrated on the last four days of April, and on the first of May, in honour of the goddess Flora, and were accompanied with dancing, music, the wearing of garlands, strewing of flowers, &c. The *Beltein*, or rural sacrifice of the Highlanders on this day, as described by Mr. Pennant and Dr. Jamieson, seems to have arisen from a different motive, and to have been instituted for the purpose of propitiating the various noxious animals which might injure or destroy their flocks and herds. The Gothic anniversary on May-day makes a nearer approach to the general purpose of the *Floralia*, and was intended as a thanksgiving to the sun, if not for the return of flowers, fruit, and grain, yet for the introduction of a better season for fishing and hunting.

The modes of conducting the ceremonies and rejoicings on *May-day*, may be best drawn from the writers of the Elizabethan period, in which this festival appears to have maintained a very high degree of celebrity, though not accompanied with that splendour of exhibition which took place at an earlier period in the reign of Henry the Eighth. It may be traced, indeed, from the era of Chaucer, who, in the conclusion of his *Court of Love*, has described the *Feast of May*, when

“—Forth goth all the court both most and least,
To fetch the floures fresh, and braunch and blome—
And namely hauhthorn brought both page and grome
And than rejoysen in their great delite:
Eke ech at other throw the floures bright,
The primerose, the violete, and the gold.
With fresh garlants party blew and white.”
And, it should be observed, that this, the simplest mode of celebrating May-

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day, was as much in vogue in the days of Shakspeare, as the more complex one, accompanied by the morris-dance, and the games of Robin Hood. The following descriptions, by Bourne and Borlase, manifestly allude to the costume of this age, and to the simpler mode of commemorating the 1st of May: “On the *Calends*, or the 1st day of May,” says the former, “commonly called *May-day*, the juvenile part of both sexes were wont to rise a little after midnight, and walk to some neighbouring wood, accompany’d with music, and the blowing of horns, where they break down branches from the trees, and adorn them with nosegays and *crowns of flowers*. When this is done, they return with their booty homewards, about the rising of the sun, and make their doors and windows to triumph in the flowery spoil. The after-part of the day is chiefly spent in dancing round a tall poll, which is called a *May Poll*; which, being placed in a convenient part of the village, stands there, as it were, consecrated to the *Goddess of Flowers*, without the least violence offered it, in the whole circle of the year.” “An antient custom,” says the latter, “still retained by the Cornish, is that of decking their doors and porches on the 1st of May with green sycamore and hawthorn boughs, and of planting trees, or rather stumps of trees, before their houses: and on May-eve, they from towns make excursions into the country, and having cut down a tall elm, brought it into town, fitted a straight and taper pole to the end of it, and painted the same, erect it in the most public places, and on holidays and festivals adorn it with flower garlands, or insigns and streamers.”

So generally prevalent was this habit of early rising on May-day, that Shakspeare makes one of his inferior characters in *King Henry the Eighth* exclaim,—
“ Pray, sir, be patient; ‘tis as much impossible (Unless we sweep them from the door with cannons)

*To scatter them, as ‘tis to make them sleep
On May-day morning; which will never be.’*

Herrick, the minute describer of the customs and superstitions of his times, which were those of Shakspeare, and the immediately succeeding period, has a poem called *Corinna's going a Maying*, which includes most of the circumstances hitherto mentioned; he thus addresses his mistress:—

“ Get up,—and see
The dew bespangling herbe and tree.”

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Each

Each flower has wept, and bow'd toward the east,
 Above an houre since ;—it is sin,
 Nay profanation, to keep in ;
 When as a thousand virgins on this day,
 Spring sooner than the lark, to fetch in May !
 Come, my Corinna, come ; and comming
 marke
 How each field turns a street, each street a
 parke
 Made green, and trimm'd with trees ;
 see how
 Devotion gives each house a bough,
 Or branch : each porch, each doore, ere
 this,
 An arke, a tabernacle is
 Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove.
 There's not a budding boy, or girle, this day
 But is got up, and gone to bring in May :
 A deale of youth, ere this, is come
 Back, and with white-thorn laden home.
 Some have dispatcht their cakes and
 creame,
 Before that we have left to dreame :
 And some have wept, and wo'd, and plighted
 troth,
 And chose their priest, ere we can cast off
 sloth :
 Many a green gown has been given ;
 Many a kisse, both odde and even :
 Many a glance too has been sent
 From out the eye, Love's firmament :
 Many a jest told of the keyes betraying
 This night, and locks pickt, ye w're not a
 Maying !

But, about the commencement of the sixteenth century, or somewhat sooner, probably towards the middle of the fifteenth century, a very material addition was made to the celebration of the rites of May-day, by the introduction of the characters of Robin Hood and some of his associates. This was done with a view towards the encouragement of archery, and the custom was continued even beyond the close of the reign of James I. It is true, that the May-games in their rudest form, the mere dance of lads and lasses round a May-pole, or the simple morris with the Lady of the May, were occasionally seen during the days of Elizabeth; but the general exhibition was the more complicated ceremony which we are about to describe.

The personages who now became the chief performers in the *morris dance*, were four of the most popular outlaws of Sherwood forest ; that Robin Hood, of whom Drayton says,—

“ In this our spacious isle, I think there is not one,
 But he hath heard some talk of him and little John ;—
 Of Tuck the merry friar, which many a sermon made

In praise of Robin Hood, his outlaws and their trade ;—

“ Of Robin's” mistress dear, his loved Marian,

— which, wheresoe'er she came,
 Was sovereign of the woods, chief lady of the game :

Her clothes tuck'd to the knee, and dainty
 braided hair,
 With bow and quiver arm'd ;”

characters which Warner, the contemporary of Drayton and Shakspeare, has exclusively recorded as celebrating the rites of May ; for, speaking of the periods of some of our festivals, and remarking that “ ere penticost begun our May,” he adds,

“ Tho' (then) Robin Hood, liell John, friar
 Tucke,
 And Marian, deftly play,
 And lord and ladie gang till kirke
 With lads and lasses gay :
 Fra masse and een sang sa gud cheere
 And glee on ery green.”

These four characters, therefore, *Robin Hood*, *Little John*, *Friar Tuck*, and *Maid Marian*, although no constituent parts of the original English morris, became at length so blended with it, especially on the festival of May-day, that until the practice of archery was nearly laid aside, they continued to be the most essential part of the pageantry.

In consequence of this arrangement, “ the old *Robin Hood* of England,” as Shakspeare calls him, was created the King or Lord of the May, and sometimes carried in his hand, during the May-game, a painted standard. It was no uncommon circumstance, likewise, for metrical interludes, of a comic species, and founded on the achievements of this outlaw, to be performed, after the morris, on the May-pole green. In Garrick's Collection of Old Plays, occurs one, entitled “ A mery Geste of Robyn Hoode, and of hys Lyfe, wyth a newe Playe for to be played in Maye Games, very pleasaunte and full of pastyme ;” it is printed at London, in the black letter, for William Copland, and has figures in the title page of *Robin Hood* and *Lytel John*. Shakspeare appears to allude to these interludes when he represents Fabian, in the *Twelfth Night*, exclaiming, on the approach of Sir Andrew Ague-Cheek with his challenge, “ More matter for May-morning.”

MINSTRELS.

It was about this period too, the close of the sixteenth century, that another remnant of romantic usage became nearly extinct. We allude to the profession of

the

the *Minstrel*, which, until the year 1597, had been cherished or tolerated in this country, from an era as ancient as the conquest.

During the reign of Elizabeth, indeed, the character of the *Minstrel*, combining the offices of the poet, the singer, and the musician, and that of the *Jestour*, or mere reciter of tales and gestes, gradually lost their importance and respectability, and were no longer protected by the noble and the opulent. On the accession of the Queen, however, and for about twenty years afterwards, instances may be adduced where the *Minstrel* appears to have acted in his genuine capacity, that is, as the sole depository of the poems which he chaunted, and not, as was subsequently the case, the fabricator of songs and ballads merely for the press. The latest specimens of what may be termed the old *Minstrelsy*, Dr. Percy assigns to the years 1569 and 1572, when the ballads entitled “*The Rising in the North*,” and “*Northumberland betrayed by Douglas*,” were produced. Between the *Minstrel*-ballads and those written merely for the press, a marked difference was usually perceptible, the former exhibiting greater rudeness of language, with a more northern cast in their structure; greater irregularity in metre, and incidents more romantic, wild, and chivalric; while the latter presented altogether a southern dialect, more correct versification, incidents, though occasionally pathetic, comparatively tame and insipid, and a costume more modern and familiar. Of this last kind, were the numerous ballads of the reign of James the First, frequently collected together, and published under the appellation of *Garlands*.

There is reason to suppose, notwithstanding the declining state of the *minstrel* tribe, that some attention was yet paid to their appearance and dress; that their ancient distinguishing costume was well known, and sometimes imitated, and that, especially in the prior half of the Elizabethan era, a peculiar garb was still attached to their office. We are warranted in these inferences by contemporary authority: Laneham, in his description of Elizabeth's entertainment at Killingworth Castle, in 1575, mentions his having been in company with a person who was to have performed the character of an *ancient Minstrel* before the Queen, “if meete time and place had been soound for it.” This man, who was probably a member of the profession, entertained some worshipful friends,

of which Laneham was one, with a representation of the part which he should have enacted at the Earl of Leicester's; and it is remarkable that this assumed *minstrel* is styled, “*a squire minstrel of Middilsex, that travailed the cuntree THYS sooner season unto fayrz and woorshipfull menz houzez*; a strong proof that the character, in all its full costume, was not considered as sufficiently bizarre and obsolete to render such an assertion improbable. “*A person very meete seemed he for the purpose: (we here drop the author's absurd orthography;) of a xlv years old, apparelled partly as he would himself. His cap off, his head seemly rounded tonster-wise; fair kemb-ed, that with a sponge daintily dipt in a little capon's grease, was finely smoothed to make it shine like a mallard's wing; his beard smugly shaven; and yet his shirt after the new trink, with ruffs fair-starched, sleeked, and glistering like a pair of new shoes: marshalled in good order: with a stetting stick, and stout that every ruff stood up like a wafer. A side gown of Kendal green, after the freshness of the year now; gathered at the neck with a narrow gorget, fastened afore with a white clasp and a keeper close up to the chin, but easily for heat to undo when he list: seemly begirt in a red caddis girdle; from that a pair of capped Sheffield knives hanging a to side (one on each side): out of his bosom drawn forth a lappet of his napkin, edged with a blue lace, and marked with a true love, a heart, and a D. for Damian; for he was but a batchelor yet.*

“*His gown had side sleeves down to midleg, slit from the shoulder to the hand, and lined with white cotton. His doublet-sleeves of black worsted: upon them a pair of poynets of tawny chamblet, laced along the wrist with blue threden joints; a wealt toward the hand of fustian anapes: a pair of red neather stocks: a pair of pumps on his feet, with a cross cut at the toes for cornes; not new, indeed, yet cleanly blacked with soot, and shining as a shoeing horn. About his neck, a red ribband suitable to his girdle: his harp in good grace dependent before him: his wrest* tied to a green lace, and hanging by. Under the gorget of his gown a fair flagon chain of pewter (for silver); as a squire Minstrel of Middlesex, that travelled the country this summer season, unto fairs and worshipfull mens houses. From his chain hung a scutcheon, with metal and colour,*

* The key with which the harp is tuned.

splendent upon his breast; of the ancient arms of Islington.—After three lowly courtseys, ' he' cleared his voice with a hem and reach, and spat out withal; wiped his lips with the hollow of his hand for filing his napkin, tempered a string or two with his wrest, and after a little warbling on his harp for a prelude, came forth with a solemn song, warrant-ed for story out of King Arthur's acts."

DRESS OF BEAUX IN THE REIGN OF
JAMES I.

King James's love of finery seems to have been imbibed, not only by his courtiers, but by all his youthful sub-jects; for, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, nothing can exceed the fantastic attire, by which the beau of this period was distinguished. His hair was worn long and flowing, " whose length," says Decker, " before the rigorous edge of any puritanical pair of scissors, should shorten the breadth of a finger, let the three house-wisely spinsters of destiny rather curtail the thread of thy life; let it play openly with the lascivious wind, even on the top of your shoulder." His hat was made of silk, velvet, taffeta, or beaver, the last being the most expensive; the crown was high, and narrow towards the top, " like the speare or shaft of a steeple," observes Stubbs, " standing a quarter of a yard above their heads;" the edges, and sometimes the whole hat, were embroidered with gold and silver, to which a costly hat-band, sparkling with gems and a lofty plume of feathers, were generally added. It appears, from a passage in *The Taming of the Shrew*, that to these high hats the name of Copatain was given; for Vincentio, surprised at Tranio being dressed as a gentleman, exclaims, " O fine vil-lain! a silken doublet! a velvet hose! a scarlet cloak! and a copatain hat!" a word which Mr. Steevens considers as synonymous with a high copt hat. It was usual with gallants to wear gloves in their hats, as a memorial of their ladies' favour.

Of the beard and its numerous forms, we have already seen a numerous detail by Harrison, to which we may subjoin, that it was customary to dye it of various colours, and to mould into various form, according to the profession, age, or fancy, of the wearer. Red was one of the most fashionable tints; a beard of " formal cut" distinguished the justice and the judge; a rough bushy beard marked the clown, and a spade beard, or a stiletto, or dagger-shaped

beard, graced the soldier. " It is ob-servable," remarks Mr. Malone, " that our author's patron, Henry, earl of Southampton, who spent much of his time in camps, is drawn with the latter of these beards; and his unfortunate friend, Lord Essex, is constantly re-presented with the former."

On the effeminate fashion of this age, perhaps the most effeminate was the custom of wearing jewels and roses in the ears, or about the neck, and of cherish-ing a long lock of hair under the left ear, called a love-lock. The first and least offensive of these decorations, the use of jewels and rings in the ear, was gene-ral through the upper and middle ranks, nor was it uncommon to see gems worn appended to a ribbon round the neck. Roses were almost always an appendage of the love-lock, but these were, for the most part, formed of ribbon, yet, we are told by Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, " that it was once the fashion to stick real flowers in the ear." The love-lock with its termination in a silken rose, had become so notorious, that Prynne at length wrote an express trea-tise against it, which he entitled, *The Unloveliness of Love-locks, and long wo-manish hair*, 1628.

The ruff never reached the extra-
gant dimensions of that in the other sex, yet it gradually acquired such magnitude as to offend the eye of Elizabeth, who, in one of her sumptuary laws, ordered it, when reaching beyond " a nayle of a yeard in depth," to be clipped.

The doublet and hose, to the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign, had been of an enormous size, especially the breeches, which being puckered, stuffed, bolstered and distended with wool and hair, at-tained a magnitude so preposterous, that, as Strutt relates on the authority of a MS. in the Harleian collection, " there actually was a scaffold erected round the inside of the parliament house for the accommodation of such members as wore those huge breeches; and that the said scaffold was taken down when, in the eighth of Elizabeth, those absurdities went out of fashion."

The doublet was then greatly reduced in size, yet so hard-quilted, that Stubbes says, the wearer could not bow himself to the ground, so stiff and sturdy it stood about him. It was made of cloth, silk, or satin, fitting the body like a waistcoat, surmounted by a large cape, and ac-
companied either with long close sleeves, or with very wide ones, called Danish sleeves. The breeches, hose, or gally-
gaskins

gaskins, now shrunk in their bulk, were either made close to the form, or rendered moderately round by stuffing: the former, which ended far above the knee, were often made of crimson satin, cut and embroidered, and the latter had frequently a most indelicate appendage, to which our poet has too often indulged the licence of allusion. A cloak surmounting the whole, of the richest materials, and generally embroidered with gold or silver, was worn buttoned over the shoulder. Fox-skins, lambs-skins, and sables were in use as facings, but the latter was restricted to the nobility, none under the rank of an earl being allowed to wear sables, which were so expensive, that an old writer of 1577, speaking of the luxury of the times, says, "that a thousand ducats were sometimes given for a face of sables;" consequently, as Mr. Malone has remarked, "a suit trimmed with sables, was, in Shakspeare's time, the richest dress worn by men in England."

The stockings, or hose, as they were called in common with the breeches, consisted either of woven silk, or were cut out by the tailor, "from silke, velvet, damaske, or other precious stufse." They were gartered externally, and below the knee, with materials of such expensive quality, that Howes tells us, in his continuation of Stowe's Chronicle, "men of mean rank weare garters and shoe-roses of more than five pounds price." Decker advises his gallant to "strive to fashion his legs to his silk stockings, and his proud gate to his broad garters," which, being so conspicuous a part of the dress, were either manufactured of gold and silver, or were made of satin or velvet, with a deep gold fringe. The common people were content with worsted galloon, or what were called caddis-garters. The gaudiness of attire, indeed, with regard to these articles of clothing, appears to have been carried to a most ridiculous excess: red silk stockings, and parti-coloured garters, and cross gartering, so as to represent the varied colours of the Scotch plaid, were frequently exhibited.

Nor were the shoes and boots of this period less extravagantly ostentatious. Corked shoes, or pantofles, are described by Stubbles, as bearing up their wearers two inches or more from the ground, as being of various colours, and razed, carved, cut, and stitched. They were not unfrequently fabricated of velvet, embroidered with the precious metals, and, when fastened with strings,

these were covered with enormous roses of ribbon, curiously ornamented, and of great value. Thus Hamlet speaks of "Provencial roses on my razed shoes;" and it is remarkable, that, as in the present age, both shoes and slippers were worn shaped after the right and left foot. Shakspeare describes his smith

"Standing on slippers, which his nimble haste
Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet."

and Scott, in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, observes, that, he who receiveth a mischance, "will consider, whether he put not on his shirt wrong side outwards, or his left shoe on his right foot."

The boots were, if possible, still more eccentric and costly than the shoes, resembling, in some degree, though on a large scale, the theatraic buskin of the modern stage. They were usually manufactured of russet cloth or leather, hanging loose and ruffled about the leg, with immense tops turned down and fringed, and the heel decorated with gold or silver spurs. Decker speaks of "a gilt spur and a ruffled boot;" and in another place adds,—"let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ankles." Yet even this extravagance did not content those who aspired to the highest rank of fashion; for Dr. Nott, the editor of Decker's *Horn-book*, in a note on the last passage which we have quoted, informs us, on the authority of Stubbles's *Anatomie of Abuses*, that these boots were often "made of cloth fine enough for any hand, or ruff; and so large, that the quantity used would nearly make a shirt: they were embroidered in gold and silver; having on them the figures of birds, animals, and antiques in various coloured silks: the needle-work alone of them would cost from four to ten pounds." Shakspeare alludes to the large boots with ruffles, or loose tops, which were frequently called lugged boots, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, act iii. scene 2; and we find, from the same authority, that boots closely fitting the leg were sometimes worn; for Falstaff, in *Henry the Fourth*, part ii., accounting for the Prince's attachment to Poins, mentions, among his other qualifications, that he "wears his boot very smooth, like unto the sign of the leg."

Nor was the interior clothing of the beau less sumptuous and expensive than his exterior apparel; his shirts, relates that

that minute observer, Stubbs, were made of "camericke, Hollande, lawne, or els of the finest cloth that may be got." And were so wrought with "needleworke of silke, and so curiously stitched with other knackes beside, that their price would sometimes amount to ten pounds."

No gentleman was considered as dressed without his dagger and rapier; the former, richly gilt and ornamented, was worn at the back: thus Capulet in Romeo and Juliet, exclaims,

"This dagger hath mista'en—for, lo! his house
Is empty on the back of Montague—
And is mis-sheath'd in my daughter's bosom."

And an old play, of the date 1570, expressly tells us,

"Thou must weare thy sword by thy side,
And thy dagger handsumly at thy backe."

The rapier, or small sword, which had been known in this country from the reign of Henry the Eighth, or even earlier, entirely superseded, about the 20 of Elizabeth, the use of the heavy or two-handed sword and buckler; an event which Justice Shallow, in the Merry Wives of Windsor, is represented as regretting. Though occasionally used as an offensive weapon, and certainly a more dangerous instrument than its predecessor, it was chiefly worn as a splendid ornament, the hilt and scabbard being profusely, and often elegantly decorated. It was also the custom to wear these swords when dancing, as appears from a passage in All's Well that Ends Well, where Bertram says,

"I shall stay here the forehorse to a smock,
Till honour be bought up, and no sword
worn,
But one to dance with;"

an allusion which has received most satisfactory illustration from Mr. Douce, in an extract taken from Stafforde's Briefe conceit of English Policy, 1581, 4to.; in which not only this practice is mentioned, but the preceding fashion of the heavy sword and buckler is particularly noticed:—"I think wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our gentlemen went simply, and our serving men plainly, without cuts or guards, bearing their heavy swords and bucklers on their thighes, insted of cuts and gardes and light daunsing swordes; and when they rode, carrying good speares in theyr hands in stede of white rods, which they cary now more like ladies or gentlewemen

then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate and without strength."

It soon became the fashion to wear these rapiers of such an enormous length, that government was obliged to interfere, and a sumptuary law was passed to limit these weapons to three feet, which was published by proclamation, together with one for the curtailment of ruffs. "He," says Stowe, "was held the greatest gallant, that had the deepest ruffe and longest rapier; the offence to the eye of the one, and the hurt unto the life of the subject that came by the other, caused her majesty to make proclamation against them both, and to place selected grave citizens at every gate to cut the ruffles, and break the rapiers' points of all passengers that exceeded a yard in length of their rapiers." This regulation occasioned a whimsical circumstance, related by Lord Talbot in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated June 23d, 1580:—"The French imbasidore, Mounswere Mouiser, (Malvoisier) ridinge to take the ayer, in his returne cam thowrowe Smithfild; and ther, at the bars, was steayed by thos offisers that sitteth to cut sourds, by reason his raper was longer than the statute: He was in a great feaurie, and dreawe his raper; in the meane season my Lord Henry Seamore cam, and so steayed the matt'r: Hir Matie is greatlie ofended wth the ofisirs, in that they wanted judgement."

This account of the male fashionable dress, during the days of Shakespeare, has sufficiently borne out the assertion which we made at its commencement,—that in extravagance and frivolity it surpassed the caprice and expenditure of the other sex; a charge which is repeated by Burton at the close of this era: for, exclaiming against the luxury of fine cloaths, he remarks, "women are bad, and men are worse.—So ridiculous we are in our attires and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old,—'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand oaks, and an hundred oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole messor on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c. in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed. Heliogabalus is taxed by Lampridius, and admired in his age for wearing jewels in his shoes, a common thing in our times, not for emperors and princes, but almost for serving men and taylors: all the flowres, stars, constellations, gold, and pretious stones, do condescend to set out their shoes."

DOMESTIC ECONOMY IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

In the days of Elizabeth, servants were more numerous and considered as a more essential mark of gentility, than at any subsequent period. "The English," observes Hentzner, "are lovers of show, liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who weare their master's arms in silver, fastened to their left arms." They were, also, usually distinguished by blue coats; thus, Grumio, enquiring for his master's servants, says,—"Call forth Nathaniel, Joseph, Nicholas, Philip, Walter, Sugarsop, and the rest; let their heads be sleekly combed, their blue coats brushed."

We learn, however, from Fynes Moryson, that both silver badges and blue coats went out of fashion in the reign of James the First; "the servants of gentlemen," he informs us, "were wont to weare blew coates, with their master's badge of silver on the left sleeve, but now they most commonly weare clokes garded with lace, all the servants of one family wearing the same livery for colour and ornament."

The very strict regulations to which servants were subjected in the sixteenth century, and the admirable order preserved in the household of the upper classes at that time, will be illustrated in a very satisfactory and entertaining manner, by the "Orders for household Servantes; first devised by John Haryngton, in the yeare 1566, and renewed by John Haryngton, sonne of the saide John, in the yeare 1592: the saide John, the sonne, being then high shrieve of the county of Somerset."

Imprimis. That no servant bee absent from praier, at morning or evening, without a lawfull excuse, to be alledged within one day after, upon Payne to forfeit for every tyme 2d.

2. *Item.* That none sweare any othe, upon Payne for every othe 1d.

3. *Item.* That no man leave any doore open, that he findeth shut, without there bee cause, upon Payne for every tyme 1d.

4. *Item.* That none of the men be in bed, from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after 6 of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed after 10 of the clock at night; nor, from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after 7 in the morning; nor out after 9 at night, without reasonable cause, on Payne of 2d.

5. *Item.* That no man's bed be unmade, nor fire or candle-box uncleane, after 8 of the clock in the morning, on Payne of 1d.

6. *Item.* That no man make water within either of the courts, upon Payne of, every tyme it shalbe proved, 1d.

7. *Item.* That no man teach any of the children any un honest speeche, or baudie word, or othe, on Payne of 4d.

8. *Item.* That no man waite at the table, without a trencher in his hand, except it be upon some good cause, on Payne of 1d.

9. *Item.* That no man appointed to waite at my table, be absent that meale, without reasonable cause, on Payne of 1d.

10. *Item.* If a man breake a glasse, hee shall answer the price thereof out of his wages; and, if it bee not known who breake it, the butler shall pay for it, on Payne of 12d.

11. *Item.* The table must bee covered halfe an hour before 11 at dinner, and 6 at supper, or before, on Payne of 2d.

12. *Item.* That meate be readie at 11, or before at dinner; and 6, or before, at supper, on Payne of 6d.

13. *Item.* That none be absent, without leave or good cause, the whole day, or any part of it, on Payne of 4d.

14. *Item.* That no man strike his fellow, on Payne of losse of service; nor revile or threaten, or provoke another to strike, on Payne of 12d.

15. *Item.* That no man come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, on Payne of 1d. and the cook likewyse to forfeit 1d.

16. *Item.* That none toy with the maids, on Payne of 4d.

17. *Item.* That no man weare foul shirt on Sunday, nor broken hose or shooes or doublett without buttons, on Payne of 1d.

18. *Item.* That when any strainger goeth hence, the chamber be dressed up againe within four hours after, on Payne of 1d.

19. *Item.* That the hall bee made cleane every day, by eight in the winter, and seaven in sommer, on Payne of him that should do it to forfeit 1d.

20. That the court-gate bee shutt each meale, and not opened during dinner and supper, without just cause, on Payne the porter to forfeit for every time 1d.

21. *Item.* That all stayrs in the house, and other rooms that neede shall require, bee made cleane on Fryday after dinner, on Payne of forfeyture of every on whome it shall belong unto, 3d.

All which sommes shalbe duly paide each quarter-day out of their wages, and bestowed on the poore, or other godly use.

To the tribe of household servants, must be added, as a constant inmate in the houses of the great, during the life of Shakspeare, and, indeed, to the close of the reign of Charles I., that motley personage, the domestic fool, who was an essential part of the entertainment of the fire-side, not only in the palace and the castle, but in the tavern and the brothel.

The character of the "all-licens'd fool"

fool" has been copied from the life, with his usual naïveté and precision, and with an inexhaustible fund of wit, in many of the plays of our poet; yet, perhaps, we shall nowhere find a more condensed and faithful picture of the manners of this once indispensable source of domestic pleasantry, than what has been given us by Dr. Lodge:—"This fellow," says he, "in person is comely, in apparel courtly, but in behaviour a very ape, and no man; his studie is to coine bitter jests, or to show antique motions, or to sing baudie sonnets and ballads: give him a little wine in his head, he is continually fleering and making of mouthes: he laughs intemperately at every little occasional, and dances about the house, leaps over tables, out-kips mens heads, trips up his companion's heeles, burns sack with a candle, and hath all the feats of a lord of misrule in the countrie: feed him in his humor, you shall have his heart, in meere kindnesse he will hug you in his arms, kisse you on the cheeke, and rapping out an horrible oth, crie God's soule Tum I love you, you know my poore heart, come to my chamber for a pipe of tobacco, there lives not a man in this world that I more honour. In these ceremonies you shall know his courting, and it is a speciall mark of him at the table, he sits and makes faces."

From Shakspeare we learn that the apparel of the domestic fool was of two kinds; he had either a parti-coloured coat fastened round the body by a girdle, with close breeches, and hose on each leg of different colours; or he wore a long petticoat dyed with curious tints, and fringed with yellow. With both dresses was generally connected a hood, covering the whole head, falling over part of the breast and shoulders, and surmounted with asses ears, or a cocks-comb. Bells and a bauble were the usual insignia of the character; the former either attached to the elbows, or the skirt of the coat, and the latter consisting of a stick, decorated at one end with a carved fool's head, and having at the other an inflated bladder, an instrument either of sport or defence.

Bitter jests, provided they were so dressed up, or so connected with adjunctive circumstances, as to raise a laugh, were at all times allowed; but it was moreover expected, that their keenness or bitterness should also be allayed by a due degree of obliquity in the mode of attack, by a careless, and, apparently, undesigning manner of delivery; and by a playful and frolic demeanour.

For these purposes, fragments of sonnets and ballads were usually chosen by the fool, a safe medium through which the necessary degree of concealment might be given, and the edge of his sarcasm duly abated; a practice of which Shakspeare has afforded us many instances, and especially in his fool in *King Lear*, whose scraps of old songs fully exemplify the aim and scope of this favorite of our ancestors.

A few household arrangements, in addition to those developed in Sir John Harrington's orders, shall terminate this branch of our subject.

We have seen, when treating of the domestic economy of the country squire, that it was usual to take their banquet or dessert, in an arbour of the garden or orchard; and in town, the nobility and gentry, immediately after dinner and supper, adjourned to another room, for the purpose of enjoying their wine and fruit; this practice is alluded to by Shakspeare, in *Romeo and Juliet*; and Beaufort, in the *Unnatural Combat* of Massinger, says,—

"We'll dine in the great room, but let the musick

And banquet be prepared here;"

a custom which it is astonishing the delicacy and refinement of modern manners have not generally adopted.

As our ancestors, during the greater part of the period we are considering, possessed not the conveniency of eating with forks, and were, therefore, compelled to make use of their fingers, it became an essential point of good manners, to wash the hands immediately before dinner and supper, as well as afterwards: thus Petruchio, on the entrance of his servants with supper, says, addressing his wife,—

"Come, Kate, and wash, and welcome heartily."

In the fifteenth item of Harrington's Orders, we find that no man was allowed to come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, an injunction which may appear extraordinary; but, in those days, it was customary, in order to prevent the cook being disturbed in his important duties, to keep the rest of the men aloof, and, when dinner was ready, he summoned them to carry it on the table, by knocking loudly on the dresser with his knife: thus in Massinger's *Unnatural Combat*, Beaufort's steward says,—

"When the dresser, the cook's drum, thunders, Come on, The service will be lost else;"

a practice which gave rise to the phraseology, he knocks to the dresser, or, he warns to the dresser, as synonymous with the annunciation that, "dinner is ready."

It was usual, also, especially where the domestic fool was retained, to keep an ape or a monkey, as a companion for him, and he is frequently represented with this animal on his shoulders. Monkeys, likewise, appear to have been an indispensable part of a lady's establishment, and, accordingly, Ben Johnson, in his *Cynthia's Revels*, represents one of his characters as asserting, "the gentleman (I'll undertake with him) is a man of fair living, and able to maintain a lady in her two caroches a day, besides pages, monkeys, parachitoes, with such attendants as she shall think meet for her turn."

CARDS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

Card-playing seems to have been as universal in the days of Elizabeth, as in modern times, and carried on, too, with the same ruinous consequences to property and morals; for, though Stowe tells us, when commemorating the customs of London, that "from All-Hallows eve to the day following Candlemas-day, there was, among other sports, playing at cards for counters, nails, and points, in every house, more for pastime than for gain," yet we learn from contemporary satirists, from Gossin, Stubbes, and Northbrooke, that all ranks, and especially the upper classes, were incurably addicted to gaming in pursuit of this amusement, which they considered equally as seductive, and pernicious as dice.

The games at cards peculiar to this period, and now obsolete, are, 1. *Primero*, supposed to be the most ancient game of cards in England. It was very fashionable in the age of Shakspeare, who represents Henry the Eighth playing "at primero with the Duke of Suffolk;" and Falstaff exclaiming, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, "I never prospered since I foreswore myself at primero."

The mode of playing this curious game is thus described by Mr. Strutt, from Mr. Barrington's papers upon card-playing, in the eighth volume of the *Archæologia*:— "Each player had four cards dealt to him one by one, the seven was the highest card in point of number that he could avail himself of, which counted for twenty-one, the six counted for sixteen, the five for fifteen, and the ace for the same; but the two, the three, and the four, for their respective points

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only. The knave of hearts was commonly fixed upon for the quinola, which the player might make what card or suit he thought proper; if the cards were of different suits, the highest number won the *primero*, if they were all of one colour, he that held them won the *flush*."

2. *Trump*,—nearly coeval in point of antiquity with *primero*, and introduced in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, a comedy, first acted in 1561, where Dame Chat, addressing Diecon, says,

" We be fast set at trump, man, hard by the syre ;"

and we learn from Decker, that, in 1612, it was much in vogue:—" To speake," he remarks, " of all the sleights used by card-players in all sorts of games, would but weary you that are to read, and bee but a thanklesse and unpleasing labour for me to set them down. Omitting, therefore the deceipts practised (even in the sayrest and most civil companies) at *Primero*, *Saint Maw*, *Trump*, and such like games, I will, &c."

3. *Gleek*. This game is alluded to twice by Shakspeare; and from a passage in Cook's *Green's Tu Quoque*, appears to have been held in much esteem:—

" *Scat*. Come, gentlemen, what is your game?"

Staines. Why, *gleek*; that's your only game; it is then proposed to play either at twelve-penny *gleek*, or crown *gleek*.

To these may be added, *Gresco*, *Mount Saint*, *New Cut*, *Knave Out of Doors*, and *Ruff*, all of which are mentioned in old plays, and were favourites among our ancestors.

DANCES.

Dancing was an almost daily amusement in the court of Elizabeth; the queen was peculiarly fond of this exercise, as had been her father, Henry the Eighth, and the taste for it became so general, during her reign, that a great part of the leisure of almost every class of society was spent, and especially on days of festivity, in dancing.

To dance elegantly was one of the strongest recommendations to the favour of Her Majesty; and her courtiers, therefore, strove to rival each other in this pleasing accomplishment; nor were their efforts, in many instances, unrewarded. Sir Christopher Hatton, we are told, owed his promotion, in a great measure, to his skill in dancing; and in accordance with this anecdote, Gray opens his "Long Story" with an admirable description of his merit in this department, which, as containing a most just and ex-

cellent picture, both of the architecture and manners of “the days of good Queen Bess,” as well as of the dress and agility of the knight, we with pleasure transcribe. Stoke-Pogeis, the scene of the narrative, was formerly in the possession of the Hattons:—

“ In Britain's isle, no matter where,
An ancient pile of building stands ;
The Huntingdons and Hattons there
Employ'd the pow'r of Fairy hands
To raise the ceiling's fretted height,
Each pannel in achievements clothing,
Rich windows that exclude the light,
And passages that lead to nothing.
Full oft within the spacious walls,
When he had fifty winters o'er him,
My grave Lord-Keeper led the brawls ;
The seal and maces danc'd before him.
His bushy beard, and shoe-strings green,
His high crown'd hat, and sattin doublet,
Mov'd the stout heart of England's Queen,
Tho' Pope and Spaniard could not trouble
it.”

The brawl, a species of dance here alluded to, is derived from the French word *braule*, “ indicating,” observes Mr. Douce, “ a shaking or swinging motion. — It was performed by several persons uniting hands in a circle, and giving each other continual shakes, the steps changing with the tune. It usually consisted of three *pas* and a *pied-joint*, to the time of four strokes of the bow; which, being repeated, was termed a double brawl. With this dance, balls were usually opened.”

Shakspeare seems to have entertained as high an idea of the efficacy of a French brawl, as probably did Sir Christopher Hatton, when he exhibited before Queen Elizabeth; for he makes Moth in Love's Labour's Lost, ask Armado,—“ Master, will you win your love with a French brawl?” and he then exclaims, “ These betray nice wenches.” That several dances were included under the term brawls, appears from a passage in Shelton's Don Quixote:—“ After this there came in another artificial dance, of those called brawles;” and Mr. Douce informs us, that amidst a great variety of brawls, noticed in Thoinot Arbeau's treatise on dancing, entitled *Orchesographie*, occurs a Scotch brawl; and he adds that this dance continued in fashion to the close of the seventeenth century.

Another dance of much celebrity at this period, was the *pavin* or *pavan*, which, from the solemnity of its measure, seems to have been held in utter aversion by Sir Toby Belch, who, in reference to his intoxicated surgeon, ex-

claims,—“ Then he's a rogue. After a passy-measure, or a pavin, I hate a drunken rogue.” This is the text of Mr. Tyrwhitt; but the old copy reads,—“ Then he's a rogue, and a passy measure's pavyn,” which is probably correct; for the pavan was rendered still more grave by the introduction of the passamezzo air, which obliged the dancers, after making several steps round the room, to cross it in the middle in a slow step or *cinque pace*. This alteration of time occasioned the term passamezzo to be prefixed to the name of several dances; thus we read of the passamezzo galliard, as well as the passamezzo pavan; and Sir Toby, by applying the latter appellation to his surgeon, meant to call him, not only a rogue, but a solemn coxcomb. “ The pavan, from *pavo* a peacock,” observes Sir J. Hawkins, “ is a grave and majestick dance. The method of dancing it was anciently by gentlemen dressed with a cap and sword, by those of the long robes in their gowns, by princes in their mantles, and by ladies in gowns with long trains, the motion whereof in the dance resembled that of a peacock's tail. This dance is supposed to have been invented by the Spaniards, and its figure is given with the characters for the step, in the *Orchesographia* of Thoinot Arbeau.—Of the passamezzo little is to be said, except that it was a favourite air in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Ligon, in his History of Barbadoes, mentions a passamezzo galliard, which, in the year 1647, a Padre in that island played to him on the lute; the very same, he says, with an air of that kind which in Shakspeare's play of Henry the Fourth was originally played to Sir John Falstaff and Doll Tearsheet, by Sneak, the musician, there named.”

Of equal gravity with the “ doleful pavin,” as Sir W. D'Avenant calls it, was The Measure, to tread which was the relaxation of the most dignified characters in the state, and formed a part of the revelry of the inns of court, where the gravest lawyers were often found treading the measures. Shakspeare puns upon the name of this dance, and contrasts it with the Scotch jig, in Much Ado about Nothing, where he introduces Beatrice telling her cousin Hero,—“ The fault will be in the musick, cousin, if you be not woo'd in good time: if the prince be too important, tell him, there is measure in every thing, and so dance out the answer. For hear me, Hero: Wooing, wedding, and repenting,

genting, is as a Scotch jig, a measure, and a cinque pace: the first suit is hot and hasty, like a Scotch jig, and full as fantastical: the wedding, mannerly-modest, as a measure full of state and anciency; and then comes repentance, and, with his bad legs, falls into the cinque-pace faster and faster, till he sink into his grave."

A more brisk and lively step accompanied the canary dance, which was likewise very fashionable:—"I have seen a medicine," says Lafeu, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, alluding to the influence of female charms,—

"That's able to breathe life into a stone;
Quicken a rock, and make you dance canary,
With sprightly fire and motion."

and Moth advises Armado, when dancing the brawl, to canary it with his feet.

The mode of performing this dance, is thus given by Mr. Douce, from the treatise of Thoinot Arbeau:—"A lady is taken out by a gentleman, and after dancing together to the cadences of the proper air, he leads her to the end of the hall; this done, he retreats back to the original spot, always looking at the lady. Then he makes up to her again, with certain steps, and retreats as before. His partner performs the same ceremony, which is several times repeated by both parties, with various strange fantastic steps, very much in the savage style."

Beside the brawl, the pavan, the measure, and the canary, several other dances were in vogue, under the general titles of corantoes, lavoltos, jigs, galliards, and fancies; but the four which we have selected for more peculiar notice, appear to have been the most celebrated.

LOUNGERS OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

Among the amusements more peculiarly belonging to the metropolis, and which, better than any other, exhibits the fashionable mode at that time of disposing of the day, we may enumerate the custom of publicly parading in the middle aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral. During the reign of Elizabeth and James, Paul's Walk, as it was called, was daily frequented by the nobility, gentry, and professional men; here, from ten to twelve in the forenoon, and from three to six in the afternoon, they met to converse on business, politics, or pleasure; and hither too, in order to acquire fashions, form assignations for the gaming table, or shun the grasp of the bailiff, came the gallant, the gamester, and the debtor,

the stale knight, and the captain out of service; and here it was that Falstaff purchased Bardolph; "I bought him," says the jolly knight, "at Paul's."

Of the various purposes for which this temple was frequented by the loungers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Decker has left us a most entertaining account, and from his tract on this subject, published in 1609, we shall extract a few passages, which throw no incurious light on the follies and dissipation of the age.

The supposed tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, but in reality that of Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, appears to have been a privileged part of the cathedral:—"The Duke's tomb," observes Decker, addressing the gallant, "is a sanctuary; and will keep you alive from worms, and land rats, that long to be feeding on your carcass: there you may spend your legs in winter a whole afternoon; converse, plot, laugh, and talk any thing; jest at your creditor, even to his face; and in the evening, even by lamp light, steal out; and so cozen a whole covey of abominable catch-polls."

Such was the resort of the male fashionable world to this venerable Gothic pile, that it was customary for trades-people to frequent its aisles for the purpose of collecting the dresses of the day. "If you determine to enter into a new suit, warn you tailor to attend you in Pauls, who, with his hat in his hand, shall, like a spy, discover the stuff, colour, and fashion of any doublet or hose that dare be seen there, and, stepping behind a pillar to fill his table books with those notes, will presently send you into the world an accomplished man; by which means you shall wear your clothes in print with the first edition."

The author even condescends to instruct his beau, when he has obtained his suit, how best to exhibit it in St. Paul's, and concludes by pointing out other resources for killing time, or withdrawing from the cathedral. "Bend your course directly in the middle line, that the whole body of the church may appear to be yours; where, in view of all, you may publish your suit in what manner you affect most, either with the slide of your cloak from the one shoulder: and then you must, as 'twere in anger, suddenly snatch at the middle of the inside, if it be taffeta at the least; and so by that means your costly lining is betrayed, or else by the pretty advantage

of compliment. But one note by the way do I especially woo you to, the neglect of which makes many of our gallants cheap and ordinary, that by no means you be seen above four turns; but in the fifth make yourself away, either in some of the semsters' shops, the new tobacco-office, or amongst the booksellers, where, if you cannot read, exercise your smoke, and inquire who has writ against this divine weed, &c."

After dinner, it was necessary that the finished coxcomb should return to Paul's in a new dress:—"After dinner you may appear again, having translated yourself out of your English cloth into a light Turkey grogram, if you have that happiness of shifting; and then be seen, for a turn or two, to correct your teeth with some quill or silver instrument, and to cleanse your gums with a wrought handkerchief: it skills not whether you dined, or no; that is best known to your stomach; or in what place you dined; though it were with cheese, of your own mother's making, in your chamber or study."

The fopperies exhibited in a place, which ought to have been closed against such unhallowed inmates, rival, if not exceed, all that modern puppyism can produce. The directions which Decker gives to his gallant on quitting St. Paul's in the forenoon, clearly prove, that the loungers of Shakspeare's time are not surpassed, either in affectation or the assumption of petty consequence, by the same worthless class of the nineteenth century:—"in which departure," enjoins the satirist, "if by chance you either encounter, or aloof off throw your inquisitive eye upon any knight or squire, being your familiar, salute him not by his name of Sir such a one, or so; but call him Ned, or Jack, &c. This will set off your estimation with great men: and if, though there be a dozen companies between you, 'tis the better, he call aloud to you, for that is most genteel, to know where he shall find you at two o'clock; tell him at such an ordinary, or such; and be sure to name those that are dearest, and whither none but your gallants resort."

A still more offensive mode of displaying this ostentatious folly, sprang from a custom then general, and even now not altogether obsolete, of demanding spur-money from any person entering the cathedral during divine service, with spurs on. This was done by the younger choristers, and, it seems, frequently

gave birth to the following gross violation of decency: "Never be seen to mount the steps into the quire, but upon a high festival day, to prefer the fashion of your doublet; and especially if the singing-boys seem to take note of you; for they are able to buzz your praises above their anthems, if their voices have not lost their maiden-heads: but be sure your silver spurs dog your heels, and then the boys will swarm about you like so many white butterflies; when you in the open quire shall draw forth a perfumed embroidered purse, the glorious sight of which will entice many countrymen from their devotion to wondering; and quoit silver into the boy's hands, that it may be heard above the first lesson, although it be read in a voice as big as one of the great organs."

THE THEATRE OF SHAKSPEARE'S TIMES.

The interior architectural arrangements of this ancient theatre have been, in their leading features, preserved to the present day. The galleries, or scaffolds, as they were sometimes called, were constructed over each other, occupying three sides of the house, and assuming, according to the plan of the building, a square or semicircular form. Beneath these were small apartments, called rooms, intended for the genteeler part of the audience, and answering, in almost every respect, to our modern boxes. In The Globe, these were open to all who chose to pay for them; but at Blackfriars, and other private theatres, there is some reason to conclude, that they were occasionally the property of individuals, who secured their claim through the medium of a key.

It has been remarked, that the centre of The Globe, or summer theatre, was open to the weather, and, from the first temporary play-houses having been built in the area of inns or common osteries, this was usually called The Yard. It had neither floor nor benches, and the common people standing here to see the performance, were, therefore, termed by Shakspeare groundlings; an epithet repeated by Decker, who speaks of "the groundling and gallery commoner, buying his sport by the penny. The similar space at Blackfriars was named the Pit, but seems to have differed in no other respect than in being protected by a roof. It was separated from the stage merely by railing of pales, for there was no intervening orchestra; the music, consisting chiefly of trumpets, cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs, being executed by a band of eight or ten performers,

formers, who were stationed in an elevated balcony nearly occupying that part of the house which is now denominated the upper stage-box.

The stage itself appears to have been divided into two parts, namely, the lower and the upper stage; the former with nearly the same relative elevation with regard to the pit, as in the theatres of our own times; the latter, resembling a balcony in shape, was placed towards the rear of the former, having its platform not less than eight or nine feet from the ground. This was a contrivance attended with much convenience; here was represented the play before the king in Hamlet; here, in several of the old plays, part of the dialogue was carried on, and here, having curtains which drew in front, were occasionally concealed, from the view of the audience, persons whose seclusion might be necessary to the business of the plot.

Curtains also of woollen, or silk, were hung in the front of the greater or lower stage, not suspended, in the modern style, by lines and pulleys, but opening in the middle, and sliding on an iron rod.

Beside the accommodation of boxes, pit, and galleries, in the usual parts of the house, two boxes, one on each side, were attached to the balcony or upper stage, and were termed private boxes; but, being inconveniently situated, and, as Decker remarks, "almost smothered in darkness," were seldom frequented, except from motives of eccentricity, by characters higher than waiting-women and gentlemen ushers. Seats, also, at the private theatres, were allowed to be placed on the stage, and were generally occupied by the wits, gallants, and critics of the day: thus Decker observes,— "by sitting on the stage, you have a signed patent to engross the whole commodity of censure; may lawfully presume to be a girder, and stand at the helm to steer the passage of scenes.

MEMOIRS
RELATING TO
EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC
TURKEY;
Edited from Manuscript Journals,
BY ROBERT WALPOLE, M. A.
ONE VOL. 4^{0.}*

DISTRICT OF MAINA, IN THE MOREA.
THAT part of the ancient Laconia, now called Maina, though often

incidentally mentioned by earlier travellers, had been scarcely, if ever, visited by any of them, when the course of Mr. Morritt's tour led him thither in the spring of 1795. The independence which the Mainots had long maintained against the Pashas of the Morea, and the agents of the Porte, the jealousy with which they guarded their frontier from the intrusion of every stranger, who travelled under Turkish protection, the nature of that frontier, and their predatory incursions into the territory of their enemies the Turks, had not only opposed real difficulties to the intercourse of a traveller with the country, but had invested their character with so much terror, that it was almost impossible to ascertain from the report of their neighbours whether they could be visited with safety under any circumstances of precaution. Certainly, says Mr. Morritt, they were described to us as robbers, whom no consideration of hospitality could bind from the exercise of their profession, and the stranger who ventured within their frontier was taught to expect the loss of liberty, or even of his life, unless he redeemed them by a heavy ransom. Such were the representations of the Turkish governors in the Morea, which were echoed by the Greek merchants of Livadea and Napoli. It should be remembered that I am describing Maina, as it existed in 1795, when many of its inhabitants had never seen a sovereign, and while they strictly adhered to their institutions and customs, on which they had founded their freedom and independence.

CALAMATA.

I shall begin the extracts from my journal from our arrival at Calamata on the 7th of April.

This town is situated not far from the sea on the eastern side of the beautiful and extensive plain of Messenia. This plain is watered by the Pamisus, and extends along the shore for about fifteen miles from Ithome and the mountains that separate Messenia from Triphylia to Taygetus. Cotylus and Lycaeus are the boundaries to the north-east and north, whence the Pamisus rolls its waters to the sea. Its sources are mentioned by Pausanias in the way which led from Thuria into Arcadia. Notwithstanding the slowness of its course it is the largest river in the Peloponnesus, and divides itself into three or four considerable streams, encircling small islands in its progress between the foot of Mount Ithome and the sea. The whole plain is naturally

* See *Proemium*, p. 541.

naturally fertile, and the eastern part of it near Calamata is a scene of rich and beautiful cultivation. The fields are divided by high fences of the Coctus or prickly pear, and large orchards of the white mulberry tree, the food of silk-worms (of which the inhabitants of this part of the plain rear great numbers,) are interspersed with fields of maize, olive grounds, and gardens, almost worthy of Alcinous himself. Among these the small town of Calamata stands, consisting of perhaps three hundred houses scattered amidst the gardens and along the banks of the rivulet that now bears its name. This rivulet descends from Taygetus, and was anciently the Nedon described in Strabo, lib. viii. p. 360, as falling into the sea near Pheræ, or Phatæ. It has every character of a mountain torrent, an inconsiderable stream in summer, and even when we were there (in spring) it was almost lost in a bed of large stones and gravel of about one hundred yards in width, brought down by its violence in the winter months. It falls into the sea at the distance of about a mile from Calamata, and the same devastation marks its course through the plain. Its banks are covered with brushwood, and its progress is interrupted by little islands of copse. Amongst these fringes of its banks, we sought in vain for the ruins of the town of Pheræ, which, according to Pausanias, stood at six stadia from the sea, in the way from Abia to Thuria, consequently at no great distance and probably on the very situation of the modern town of Calamata. This last derives its name from Calamæ, a village mentioned by Pausanias, lib. iv.; which still exists and retains its ancient name, and is situated at the distance of about two miles from Calamata, and more inland. The cultivation of the plains, and the modern buildings there during the period when the Venetians possessed this fertile country, have tended to obliterate the inconsiderable remains of antiquity which might be expected to have come down to us from the age of Strabo and Pausanias.

The modern town is built on a plain not unusual in this part of the Morea, and well adapted for the defence of the inhabitants against the attacks of the pirates that infest the coast. Each house is a separate edifice, and many of them are high square towers of brown stone, built while the Venetians had possession of the country. The lower story of their habitations serves chiefly for offices or warehouses of merchandize, and the

walls on every side are pierced with loop-holes for the use of musketry, while the doors are strongly barricadoed. A small Greek church stands near the Nedon in front of Calamata, and behind the town a ruined Venetian fortress rises on a hill over the gardens and dwellings of the inhabitants. The Greeks who lived there were rich and at their ease; the fields in the vicinity of the town belonged to them, and they had also a considerable trade, the chief articles of which arose from their cultivation of silk and oil. They were governed by men of their own nation and appointment, subject only to the approval of the Pasha of the Morea, who resided at Tripolizza, and to the payment of a tribute which was collected among themselves, and transmitted by a Turkish Vaivode, who, with a small party of Janissaries was stationed here for that purpose, and for the defence of the town against the Mainiots.

While preparations were making for our journey into the Maina, we proceeded to examine the different objects of antiquity in the vicinity of Calamata. We mounted our horses, and proceeded northward along the plain to Palæo-castro, where from the name of the place we expected the ruins of an ancient city, and from the distance and direction those of Thuria. "Pharæ is at the distance of six stadia from the sea. From hence the city of Thuria is at the distance of eighty stadia, to a traveller who is proceeding to the inland part of Messenia. It is supposed to be the same city which in Homer's poem is called Anthea. The inhabitants of Thuria leaving their city, which had originally been built upon an eminence, descended into the plain and dwelt there. They did not however entirely abandon the upper city, but the ruins of the walls remain there, and a temple of the Syrian goddess. The river Aris flows near the city of the plain." Strabo says that the ancient name of Thuria was Aipeia, a name derived from its lofty situation, though he also mentions the fact that some topographers placed Anthea here, and Aipeia at Methone.

RUINS OF AN ANCIENT CITY.

We continued our journey to Palæo-castro, a village still inhabited, and surrounded with the ruins of an ancient city. They cover the space of nearly the circuit of two miles, and parts of the ancient wall of Thuria may be traced by the foundations that remain. These are all upon a hill at the foot of Taygetus,

tas, which retains many vestiges of the former town. Amongst them lie scattered several marble tympana of fluted columns of the Doric order; probably the remains of the temple dedicated to the Syrian goddess, of which at least we found no other indication. There is a large oblong cistern or tank hewn in the rock, and coated with a cement that still adheres to many parts of its sides, which we found on measurement to be twenty-three yards long and sixteen broad. The depth of it is now about fourteen feet: much soil having fallen into it. The walls are not so distinctly traceable as to enable us to ascertain the exact extent of this ancient city; the vestiges of that which was subsequently inhabited in the plain are far more indistinct. The soil there is rich and deep, and broken into platforms and angles of very singular appearance, by the waters from the mountains. Some of these are so regular, as to present almost the appearance of a modern fortification. Here, however, the Aris, an inconsiderable stream, still flows to the Pamisus; and, while the ancient ruins are visible on the hill, the fertility of the plain has obliterated the more recent habitations of the Thurians: Deep harvests bury all their pride has plann'd, And laughing Ceres re-assumes the land.

GOVERNMENT OF MAINA.

The government of the Maina, at the time I visited it, resembled in many respects the ancient establishment of the Highland clans in Scotland. It was divided into smaller or larger districts, over each of which a chief, or Capitano, presided, whose usual residence was a fortified tower, the resort of his family and clan in time of peace, and their refuge in war. The district they governed belonged to their retainers, who each contributed a portion (I think, a tenth) of the produce of his land to the maintenance of the family under whom he held. Each chief, besides this, had his own domain, which was cultivated by his servants and slaves, and which was never very considerable. They were perfectly independent of each other; the judges of their people at home, and their leaders when they took the field. The most powerful Capitano of the district usually assumed the title of Bey of the Maina, and in that name transacted their business with the Turks, negotiated their treaties, or directed their arms against the common enemy. In the country itself his power rested merely on the voluntary obedience of the other chiefs, and his jurisdiction extended in fact only

over his own immediate dependents. The Turkish court, to preserve at least a shadow of power over this refractory community, generally confirmed by a ferman the appointment of the Bey, whose own power or influence enabled him to support the title. The population of the Maina is so great in proportion to its fertility, that they are obliged to import many of the common necessities of life. For these they must occasionally trade with the Turkish provinces, and exchange their own oil and silk and domestic manufactures for the more essential articles of wheat and maize, and provisions. To obtain these, they had recourse sometimes to smuggling, and sometimes to a regular payment of the Charatch, and acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Porte. This they again threw off, when a favourable year, or any extraordinary sources of supply rendered their submission unnecessary; and by such rebellion had more than once drawn upon them the vengeance of their powerful neighbour. The contest had been repeatedly renewed, and as often the Turks had been repulsed or had fallen victims to the determined resistance of the Mainiots, and the inaccessible nature of their country.

The coast, indented with small creeks, containing the row-boats used universally in piratical excursions, is every where surrounded by rocks and exposed to winds which render it unsafe for transports and ships of burden. On the arrival of an enemy, their villages and towers along the shore were deserted, and the people retired to the mountains, the steep ridges of Täygetus, that rise from the shore, where other villages and securer valleys afforded them a temporary shelter from the storm of invasion. Should a body of troops be landed, and wreak their vengeance on the deserted habitations, the first rising gale cuts them off from all hopes of assistance from their fleet. A hardy people, well acquainted with every path of their native mountains, armed to a man with excellent rifles, dispersing easily by day, and assembling as easily every night, would distress them every hour they staid, and harrass them at every step, if they advanced. The very women, well acquainted with the use of arms, have more than once poured ruin from the walls of some strong-built tower, or well situated village, on the assailants, from whom they had nothing to expect but slaughter or captivity, if conquered. The country admits not of the convey-

ance of artillery, and their towers, ill-calculated as they may seem for the improved warfare of more polished nations, offered a powerful means of resistance against the efforts of the Turks, and had more than once materially delayed their progress.

Should the Turks attack them by land, their frontier to the north is still more impenetrable. The loftiest and most inaccessible rocks, and the highest summits of Taygetus occupy the whole line, leaving only two roads that are shut in by the mountain on one side, and the sea on the other. The passes of the interior part of the country are known only to the natives, and to penetrate along the coast, while the Mainiots are in possession of the mountains, would require courage and discipline very superior to such as are generally displayed by the Turkish soldiery. In the war conducted by Lambro, with Russian money, the Mainiots were found so troublesome to the Turks, that a combined attack was made upon their country by the fleet under the Capoudan Pasha, which landed troops upon their coast, and the forces of the Morea, which marched at the same time from Misitra. The number of these two armies, probably exaggerated, was rated by the Mainiots at 20,000 men. The result of the attack by sea was pointed out to me near Cardamyle; a heap of whitening bones in a dell near the town, the remains of the Turks, who, after suffering the severest privations, were not so fortunate as the rest in finding a refuge in their fleet. The attack by land was equally disastrous. After a fruitless attempt to advance, and burning a few inconsiderable villages, their army was obliged to retire, harassed by the fury of the people, while another party of the Mainiots burst into the plain of the Eurotas, drove off whatever they could plunder, and in the flames of Misitra, a considerable Turkish town, expiated the trifling mischief they had sustained at home.

Such are the stories at least which I heard repeated by their chiefs, and which the common people were no less delighted to tell.

RELIGION.

The religion of the Mainiots is that of the Greek Christian church, with its usual accompaniments of saints, holy places, and holy pictures. Their churches were numerous, clean, and well attended; their superstition was great, as may be supposed from the adventurous and precarious life I have described. Hence

their fondness for amulets and charms, and faith in them: but I know not whether they carried these to a greater height than the rest of their nation.

ZANETACHI KUTUPHARI.

Through such a country we arrived at Kitreés, a small hamlet of five or six cottages, scattered round another fortress, the residence of Zanetachi Kutuphari, formerly Bey of the Maina, and of his niece Helena, to whom the property belonged. The house consisted of two towers of stone, exactly resembling our own old towers upon the borders of England and Scotland; a row of offices and lodgings for servants, stables, and open sheds, inclosing a court, the entrance to which was through an arched and embattled gateway. On our approach, an armed retainer of the family came out to meet us, spoke to our guard who attended us from Myla. He returned with him to the castle, and informed the chief, who hastened to the gate to welcome us, surrounded by a crowd of gazing attendants all surprised at the novelty of seeing English guests. We were received, however, with the most cordial welcome, and shewn to a comfortable room on the principal floor of the tower, inhabited by himself and his family; the other tower, being the residence of the Capitanessa, his niece, for that was the title which she bore.

Zanetachi Kutuphari was a venerable figure, though not above the age of fifty-six. His family consisted of a wife and four daughters, the two youngest of whom were children. They inhabited the apartment above ours, and were, on our arrival, introduced to us. The old chief, who himself had dined at an earlier hour, sat down however to eat with us according to the established etiquette of hospitality here, while his wife and the two younger children waited on us, notwithstanding our remonstrances, according to the custom of the country, for a short time, then retired, and left a female servant to attend us and him. At night, beds and mattresses were spread on the floor; and pillows and sheets, embroidered and composed of broad stripes of muslin and coloured silk, were brought in. These articles, we found, were manufactured at home by the women of the family: as the Greeks themselves invariably wear their under garments when they sleep, the inconvenience of such a bed is little felt.

April 12.—As the day after our arrival at Kitreés was Easter Sunday, we of course remained there, and had an opportunity

opportunity of witnessing and partaking in the universal festivity which prevailed not only in the castle, but in the villages of the country round it. In every Greek house a lamb is killed at this season, and the utmost rejoicing prevails. We dined with Zanetachi Kutuphari and his family at their usual hour of half-past eleven in the forenoon, and after our dinner were received in much state by his niece Helena in her own apartments. She was in fact the lady of the castle, and chief of the district round it, which was her own by inheritance from her father. She was a young widow, and still retained much of her beauty; her manners were pleasing and dignified. An audience in form from a young woman, accompanied by her sister, who sat near her, and a train of attendant females in the rich and elegant dress of the country, was a novelty in our tour, and so unlike the customs which prevailed within a few short miles from the spot where we were, that it seemed like an enchantment of romance. The Capitanessa alone was seated at our entrance, who, when she had offered us chairs, requested her sister to sit down near her, and ordered her attendants to bring coffee and refreshments. We were much struck with the general beauty of the Mainiot women here, which we afterwards found was not confined to Kitreës; we remarked it in many other villages; and it is of a kind that from their habits of life would not naturally be expected. With the same fine features that prevail among the beauties of Italy and Sicily they have the delicacy and transparency of complexion, with the brown or auburn hair, which seems peculiar to the colder regions. Indeed, from the vicinity to the sea, the summers here are never intensely hot, nor are the winters severe in this southern climate; the same causes in some of the Greek islands produce the same effect, and the women are much more beautiful in general than those of the same latitude on the continent. The men, too, are a well-proportioned and active race, not above the middle size, but spare, sinewy, and inusecular.

The Capitanessa wore a light blue shawl-gown, embroidered with gold; a sash tied loosely round her waist; and a short vest, without sleeves, of embroidered crimson velvet. Over these was a dark green velvet Polonese mantle, with wide and open sleeves, also richly embroidered. On her head was a green velvet cap, embroidered with gold, and appearing like a coronet, and a white and gold muslin shawl fixed on the right

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shoulder, and passed across her bosom under the left arm, floated over the coronet, and hung to the ground behind her.

Her uncle's dress was equally magnificent. He wore a close vest with open sleeves of white and gold embroidery, and a short black velvet mantle with sleeves edged with sables. The sash which held his pistols and his poignard was a shawl of red and gold. His light blue trowsers were gathered at the knee, and below them were close gaiters of blue cloth with gold embroidery, and silver gilt bosses to protect the ankles. When he left the house, he flung on his shoulders a rich cloth mantle with loose sleeves, which was blue without and red within, embroidered with gold in front and down the sleeves in the most sumptuous manner. His turban was green and gold; and, contrary to the Turkish custom, his grey hair hung down below it. The dress of the lower orders is in the same form, with the necessary variations in the quality of the materials and absence of the ornaments. It differed considerably from that of the Turks, and the shoes were made either of yellow or untanned leather, and fitted tightly to the foot. The hair was never shaved; and the women wore gowns like those of the west of Europe, instead of being gathered at the ankles like the loose trowsers of the East.

In the course of the afternoon we walked into some of the neighbouring villages; the inhabitants were everywhere dancing and enjoying themselves on the green, and those of the houses and little harbour of Kitreës, with the crews of two small boats that were moored there, were employed in the same way, till late in the evening. We found our friend Zanetachi well acquainted with both the ancient and modern state of the Maina, having been for several years the Bey of the district. From him I derived much of the information to which I have recourse in describing the manners and principles of the Mainiots. He told me that in case of necessity, on an attack from the Turks, the numbers they could bring to act, consisting of every man in the country able to bear arms, amounted to about 12,000. All of these were trained to the use of the rifle even from their childhood, and after they grew up were possessed of one, without which they never appeared; and, indeed, it was as much a part of their dress as a sword formerly was of an English gentleman. Their constant familiarity with this weapon had rendered

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them

them singularly expert in the use of it; there are fields near every village where the boys practised at the target, and even the girls and women took their part in this martial amusement.

THE PLAIN OF MARATHON.

In the year subsequent to the failure of Mardonius, a considerable force was assembled by order of the Persian monarch, and embarked from the province of Cilicia in Asia Minor. Thence the fleet coasted along the shores of that country as far as Samos; and, crossing the Ægean sea, it passed through the islands between Ionia and Greece. After the Persians had taken possession of Eubœa, where they were delayed seven days by the opposition of the inhabitants of Eretria, the army was re-embarked, and a landing immediately effected in the plain of Marathon, on the opposite shores of Attica.

There was every reason to induce the Persians to make their descent near Marathon. Along the whole extent of the Attic coast, from the frontiers of Bœotia to the bay of Phalerum, there was no other spot but Marathon, which at once united the advantages of safe anchorage, and a plain sufficiently large to contain great numbers, and to afford room for cavalry to act. The shore in this part forms a fine bay of very gradual soundings, of a good anchoring ground, and protected in some degree by the land of Eubœa from the sudden and boisterous storms of the Archipelago. The extent of the shore is upwards of seven miles, presenting a shelving sandy beach, free from rocks and shoals, and well calculated for debarkation. The land bordering on the bay is an uninterrupted plain, about two miles and a half in width, and bounded by rocky difficult heights, which enclose it at either extremity; though, to the south-west, the mountains, which are a branch of Pentelicus, and are higher than in any other part, have a more gradual slope towards the sea, and are covered with low pine-trees and brushwood. About the centre of the bay a small stream, which flows from the upper part of the valley of Marathon, discharges itself into the sea, by three shallow channels. A narrow rocky point, projecting from the shore, forms the north-east part of the bay, close to which is a salt-stream, connected with a shallow lake, and a great extent of marsh land. About one mile and a half south of the river of Marathon is another inconsiderable rivulet of fresh water, flowing also from a marsh by no means so extensive as the other. From the north-

east point of the bay, on a low narrow sandy ridge, extends a wood of the *Pinus Pinea* for a space of two miles along the shore; in the rear of this, the plain is a continued marsh, reaching as far as the modern village Souli; probably the ancient Trycorythus, which formed with Cœnoe, Probalinthus, and Marathon, the Tetrapolis of Attica.

The other part of the plain, except the small marsh to the southward, consists of uninclosed and level corn land, with a few olive and wild pear trees. The village, called Marathon, which is situated in a narrow valley of nearly uniform breadth openly into the plain, is rather more than three miles from the sea. This valley is in general three quarters of a mile in breadth, and is bounded on either side by difficult heights; on the south side it is separated from another small valley, which however is itself enclosed with rocky eminences, and appears as a bay connected with the plain, while the valley of Marathon may be compared to a creek or inlet into the interior. At the foot of the mountain, on the south side of the plain, is a small hamlet, called Vrana, supposed by some to be on the site of the ancient Brauron; at the entrance of the valley of Marathon from the plain are two small villages, called Bey and Sifeeri. The modern Marathon contains a few Zevgaria, and is peopled by about 200 inhabitants; the houses of the peasants are in the midst of gardens, planted with apricot trees, vines, and olives. They are watered from a copious fountain about a mile above the village, surrounded by a circular foundation of ancient masonry; the only remains of antiquity which we could discover near a place once distinguished as *Εὐτριπέννη Μαραθῶνα*. The stream derived from the fountain, the Macaria of Pausanias, passes down the valley parallel to the river, to the distance of three quarters of a mile; and is then conducted across the river in a wooden trough, and continues its course to the village, where it is employed in the gardens. Above the fountain is a small detached rocky height, at the summit of which is a cavern with a low entrance, and naturally divided into several compartments; this, according to Pausanias, may be the mountain and grotto of Pan, though it would be difficult to conceive the slightest resemblance in the rocks to goats or sheep, mentioned by that author in his Grecian tour. From Marathon to Athens is a march of about seven hours, in a S. W. direction, and the first part of the road is through

through an unequal, rocky, and rather a difficult country; over a ridge, which connects Pentelicus with the eastern extremity of Parnes, and therefore corresponds with the situation of the ancient Brilessus. Beyond is the extensive plain of Athens, which reaches from Mount Pentelicus to the sea.

As soon as the Athenians received intelligence that the Persians had actually landed in their country they marched against them. Of the exact number on either side, Herodotus makes no mention; according to Plutarch (in Parall.) and Valetius Maximus, the forces of the enemy amounted to 300,000; Justin reckons them to be 600,000; and Cornelius Nepos (in vita Milt.) makes them ten times the number of the Athenians, or about 100,000. The amount of the Grecian force must have been of universal notoriety; the battle of Marathon was doubtless the most important event in the history of Athens; it was ever afterwards the pride and boast of the Athenians; and might be considered no less than the fight at Artemisium, as *κρηπτις ἀεροβογίας*, (Pindar) "the foundation of their freedom;" surely then the recollection of every minute circumstance of that engagement would be fondly cherished to the last hour of the republic. Although therefore Herodotus does not relate the numbers in the Grecian army, the authority of Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, and Pausanias, on this head, may be accepted without hesitation; for, though these authors differ with regard to the Persian army, they uniformly agree in stating the Athenian force at Marathon to have been 9,000 men, besides 1,000 Plateans, who alone of the other Grecian states bore a part in the engagement. Pausanias particularly observes (in Phoc.) that, in this statement of the Athenian force, the slaves were also included. An army of 10,000 men was but an inconsiderable force to oppose to the Persians, unless this amazing inferiority was counterbalanced by some local advantages. The Greeks therefore, when they arrived at Marathon, would not descend into the plain to expose themselves to be surrounded by numbers, and afterwards destroyed by the cavalry, they would surely take a position, securing their flanks as much as possible, while they presented but a small front towards the enemy. The valley of Marathon offered to the Athenians as favourable a spot for engaging as could be desired. While they could fight the enemy on equal terms, a body

so well trained and disciplined, and commanded by such able generals as the Athenians were, would have little hesitation to oppose themselves to the most spirited efforts of the barbarians. The Athenians also had powerful motives to animate and encourage them; their liberty, their existence were at stake; while the numerous hordes of the enemy, unacquainted with their officers, and prompted by different interests, would easily relax in the fight, and be overpowered by the firm and daring courage of the Athenians. On the first view, indeed, the conduct of the Greeks in marching out from the city, and thus risking their country in this single engagement, appears wholly desperate; though, when their situation is considered, it must be allowed that their councils were dictated by prudence and reason. To have opposed the debarkation of the Persians would have been absurd and fruitless; had they suffered the enemy to advance into the plain of Athens, their country would most probably have been lost; for no situation between the city and the place of landing could afford so many advantages for an engagement as the valley of Marathon. Had the Athenians shut themselves up in Athens, the Persians, in full possession of the open country, would soon have compelled them to surrender; so that, all things considered, the Athenians seem to have adopted the wisest measure, by deciding resolutely to occupy the pass on the principal road towards the capital.

The armies of the Athenians were commanded by ten generals, according to the number of their tribes, each of whom was in his turn commander in chief of the day. To these was added the Polemarch, an officer who had the privilege of giving a casting vote in the event of a difference of opinion on the plan of operations. In the present instance, the sentiments of the ten generals were divided, five being averse to an engagement; which the remainder strongly recommended. Miltiades, who was the youngest in rank, though highest in reputation, zealous in the cause of his country, and convinced in his own mind that the wisest course was to engage, gained Callimachus, who was then Polemarch, over to his opinion, and it was resolved to attack the enemy. Plutarch observes, that Aristides was of the same way of thinking with Miltiades, and was of great assistance in persuading the rest. When the decisive mo-

ment arrived, he disposed his forces in the following manner: Callimachus commanded the right wing, for, by a law, this post was always confided to the Polemarch; beginning from the right flank, the tribes were placed in the line according to their order; the Plateans were on the left. Miltiades formed his front equal to that of the Medes, weakening indeed his centre, in which were only the tribes Leontis and Antiochis (the first commanded by Themistocles, the second by Aristides), that he might strengthen the wings.

No other situation at Marathon, but in the valley itself, could have afforded him the great advantage of making his line equal to that of the enemy. The space which it is conjectured was occupied by the Greeks was about 1500 yards in length; on computing that each soldier occupied three feet, there would consequently be 1500 men in the first line. From the weakness of their numbers, and the extent of ground they were obliged to occupy, they could not afford that great depth to their line which was always customary, and would in this instance have been very important. Miltiades therefore wisely took from his centre, that he might give greater strength to his flanks.

When the sacrifices appeared favourable for commencing the engagement, the Greeks rushed forward in full charge against the barbarians. Between the van of each army there was a space of not less than eight stadia, about three quarters of a mile. The Persians, when they perceived the Greeks in motion, immediately prepared to receive them, for they considered such conduct as the height of folly, and the certain cause of destruction to the Greeks, who, without cavalry or archers, pressed forward to the attack with such violent impetuosity. The latter, however, when they came hand to hand with the barbarians, fought in a manner most worthy to be recorded; they were the first, says the historian, of all the Greeks who advanced in full charge (*le pas de charge*, Larcher,) against their enemies, and none before had ever sustained the Medes, and the terrific appearance of their dress. In the representation of this battle by Micon, the Persians were painted taller than the Athenians; and the artist was fined thirty minæ; but he was probably correct in his design, as the Oriental dress must have given to the Asiatics the appearance of greater height.

In the early part of the engagement,

the centre of the Greeks was obliged to fall back, and was pursued up the country by the Persians and the Sacæ; but on either wing fortune favoured the Greeks; and here they overcame, routed the barbarians, and compelled them to fly. Those who had turned their backs, they at first allowed to retire unmolested; so that the Greeks uniting their victorious wings, attacked and defeated those of the enemy who had been successful in the centre. The rout now became general: the Persians retreated in confusion towards the beach, to regain, if possible, their shipping; and vast numbers were slain by the Greeks, who constantly pursued them. Pausanias (lib. i. cap. 15) describes a painting at Athens in the Peisanactean portico by Panænus, the brother of Phidias, representing the battle of Marathon, and in which are observed the Persians flying in every direction across the plain, and driving one another into the marsh. In a second passage of the Attics, Pausanias particularly mentions the marsh at Marathon, and as connected with the sea by a small stream of salt-water. This description corresponds most minutely with the ground in the north-east extremities of the plain. The remainder of the Persian army embarked as hastily as possible, and, doubling Cape Sunium, sailed towards Phalerum with the hopes of anticipating the Athenians, and of taking the city before the army could return from Marathon.

The Athenians, however, having left the tribe Antiochis, commanded by Aristides, to guard the wounded and prisoners, and to collect the spoil, marched instantly for Athens; so that the Persians, being disappointed of their object, returned with their fleet to the coast of Asia.

According to the historian, there fell of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two; while the loss on the part of the barbarians amounted to six thousand four hundred: seven of the ships were also burnt or destroyed by the Greeks. Callimachus, the Polemarch, was among the slain, as was also the commander Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Alcælus.

It was a custom with the Athenians to bury those who were slain in battle, or to erect columns to their memory, in a place called the Ceramicus, "the most beautiful suburb of their city," to use the words of Thucydides; but, as a particular mark of distinction, three monuments were erected at Marathon, in honour

hour of the event of the battle : one was raised to the memory of the Athenians, who fell in it; another recorded the valour of the Plateans, and the slaves who fought; a third was the monument of Miltiades.—(*Paus.*) At this day may be seen towards the middle of the plain a large tumulus of earth, 25 feet in height, resembling those on the plain of Troy. In a small marsh near the sea, are the vestiges of ten monuments with marble foundations, and fragments of columns, which, it may be conjectured, marked the tombs of the Athenians.

ROSETTA.

We arrived at Rosetta, celebrated by travellers as the paradise of Egypt: but the lofty minarets of the great mosque, with those of the smaller mosques, the tombs of the Arab saints, and some houses of the Franks, which are almost embosomed in woods, give the traveller, as he sails up the river, ideas of populousness and wealth which are strongly contrasted by the mean and ruinous buildings seen by him on landing.

Between the houses and the Nile is a wide space, the parade of Rosetta ; in the evening I found it crowded with people; their dress consisted generally of a blue, brown, or white cotton stuff ; but the prevailing colour was light blue.

The shops were well-filled, particularly with various kinds of grain. They are opened at day-break ; the people of all eastern countries rising early, that they may transact much of their business in the cool part of the morning.

As we walked about the town, at the southern end of a long street, we passed by an Egyptian school, which was held in the open air, on a kind of stage made of basket work ; like our own schools, it might be easily known at a distance, by the confused medley of young voices. The boys were all sitting cross-legged ; in the midst of them was a young man, probably the master, reading to them.

A Rosetta garden is a walled inclosure, where shrubs and fruit trees are planted together, without order or regularity. The rude growth of the trees affords the Arab an agreeable shelter from the intense heat ; and, in his garden he frequently takes his evening meal of pilau, (boiled rice and fowls,) doubly grateful from the abstinence of the day, and the refreshing shade. The gardens are watered by the Persian wheel, from wells filled by the Nile during the inundation.

EGYPTIAN ARABS.

The lower orders of Egyptian Arabs appeared to me to be a quiet inoffensive

people, with many good qualities. They are in general tall and well made, possessing much muscular strength ; yet they are of a thin spare habit. Their complexion is very dark, their eyes black and sparkling, and their teeth very good. Upon the whole, they are a fine race of men in their persons ; they are more active in agricultural employments than we should be led to imagine, from seeing the better sort of them in towns smoking and passing their time in listless indolence. The dress of the poorer Arabs consists simply of a pair of loose blue or white cotton drawers, with a long blue tunic, which serves to cover them from their neck to their ankles, and a small red woollen skull-cap, round which they occasionally wind a long strip of white woollen manufacture. They are sometimes so poor as not to be able to purchase even this last article. By means of his tunic, or long loose outer garment of dyed cotton, the wealthy Arab conceals from the proud and domineering Turk, a better and a richer dress, consisting sometimes of the long and graceful Moslem habit of Damascus silk, covered by a fine cloth coat, with short sleeves ; and, at other times, particularly among the Alexandrians and those connected with the sea, of a blue cloth short jacket, curiously and richly embroidered with gold, and white trowsers, reaching just below the knee, the legs bare.

EGYPTIAN FEMALES.

With respect to the economical arrangement of their families, we found that the Arabs seldom have more than two wives ; commonly but one. The second wife is always subservient to the elder in the affairs of the house. The women colour their nails, the inside of the hands, and the soles of their feet, with a deep orange colour, sometimes with one of a rosy appearance. This is done by means of henna. They likewise apply a black dye to their eye-lashes, eye-brows, and the hair of their head ; a brilliancy it is supposed is thus given to the eye, and the sight is improved. The women in general, I believe, can neither read or write ; but the better sort are taught embroidery and ornamental needle-work, in which they mostly pass their time. An Arab merchant of property made me a present of an elegantly embroidered handkerchiefs, worked, as he said, by his wife's hands. The women of rank are seldom seen abroad ; many of these were murdered by the Turks, after we evacuated Alexandria,

andria, in 1803; but some of them, and in particular two Bedouin girls, succeeded in escaping to Malta.

The features of the Arab-Egyptian women are by no means regular. In general the cheek-bones are high, the cheeks broad and flabby, the mouth large, the nose short, thick, and flat, though in some it is prominent; the eyes black, but wanting animation. The bad appearance of the eyes is, in some measure, owing to disease. The skin is of a disagreeable Mulatto colour. The hair, which is commonly black, is matted, and often smeared with a stinking ointment. It is formed in two or three divisions, and suffered to hang down the back. At a distance, however, the long flowing robe which covers them, to the heels, though it may conceal deformity, seems, by the easiness of its drapery, to heighten their stature, and even to render their air graceful. Indeed, I have never seen any women who have displayed so much easiness of manner, or so fine a carriage, being superior in this respect even to the women of Circassia. Probably the elegance and dignity of their gait may depend upon the habit of carrying every thing on their heads. They are taller in general than our European women. From ignorance of their language I could form no opinion of their conversation, yet from their numerous and graceful gestures, I suppose it might be pleasing in spite of the shrillness of their voices. As the army was passing through the villages, they mounted upon the house tops, and made a confused noise like the cackling of cranes, which was interpreted to us as indicating wishes for our success.

The Ethiopan women brought to Egypt for sale, though black, are exceedingly beautiful: their features are regular, their eyes full of expression. A great number of them had been purchased by the French during their stay in Egypt, who were anxious to dispose of them previously to their leaving the country, and it was the custom to bring them to the common market place in the camp, sometimes in boys' clothes, at other times in the gaudiest female dress of the French fashion. The neck was in general naked, and the petticoat on one side tucked up to the knee, to shew the elegant form of the limb. The price of these women was from sixty to an hundred dollars; while Arab women might be purchased at so low a price as ten.

The Circassian women, who are brought to Egypt in great numbers, are

exposed to sale in different markets or khans, and fetch a price in proportion to their beauty. They have been much talked of, and, were we to give implicit faith to the eastern romances, female beauty is no where to be met with in perfection but in Circassia. I confess, however, that the appearances of such Circassian women as I saw, much disappointed me; almost all their pretensions to beauty consisting of a fair skin. I was in the harem of Hassan, a Mameluke Kaschief, and had an opportunity of seeing three of its inmates. They were seated in a small room, on the sides of which was a divan, or sofa, covered with crimson satin; a Turkey carpet was spread on the middle of the floor. The crimson satin was fancifully embroidered with silver flowers: the ladies wore white turbans of muslin, and their faces were concealed with long veils, which, in fact were only large white handkerchiefs thrown carelessly over them. When they go abroad, they wear veils, like the Arab women. Their trowsers were of red and white striped satin, very wide, but drawn together at the ankle with a silk cord, and tied under their breasts with a girdle of scarlet and silver. Something like a white silk shirt, with loose sleeves, and open at the breast, was next the skin. Over all, was thrown a pelisse; one of them was light blue satin, spangled with small silk leaves; the other two, pink satin, and gold. We were treated with coffee, and were fanned by the ladies themselves, with large fans, a perfume being at the same time scattered through the room. This was composed of rose water, a quantity of which is made in Fayum. They were reserved at first, but after conversing with the Mameluke, who attended me, they were less careful to conceal their faces. Their beauty did not equal what I had anticipated from the fineness of their skins. They were inclining to corpulence; their faces were round and inexpressive: but the neck, bosom, arms, and hands, were of great fairness and delicacy. My dress seemed to amuse them very much, and they examined every part of it, particularly my boots and spurs. When drinking coffee with the Turkish officers, I chanced to forget my handkerchiefs; and, as I seemed to express a desire to find it, one of the ladies took off a handkerchief from her head, and presented it to me, having first perfumed it.

At my return to the camp, I had a conversation on the subject of these women,

men, with a French deserter, who had become Mameluke, and belonged to the family of Hassan. I was very particular in my enquiries respecting the number of women that Hassan might have in his possession. He told me that his master had upwards of twenty, several of whom were Circassians. I expressed astonishment at his having so many wives; but the Mameluke said that Hassan in reality had but one wife; the rest of the women being her attendants, and that his wife was not among the ladies I had seen.

MARRIAGES.

The Moslem marriages are always regulated by the elder females, the bridegroom seldom or never seeing the bride's face, until the day of marriage. It is merely a civil contract made between their mutual friends, and signed by the young man and his father. There is a procession, consisting of many persons, male and female, who accompany the bride on a horse richly caparisoned to the house of the bridegroom, where she is received by his female friends. Some time after this, the mother of the young man informs the assembled females that the marriage has been solemnized, who immediately raise a loud and shrill cry, which they repeat at intervals during the entertainment which follows. It is the common demonstration of joy among the women, consisting of a quick guttural pronunciation of *Luy, Luy, Luy*, and may be heard at some distance. After the first burst of joy, they make a procession through the streets, the women are all veiled, and a person mounted on a horse richly caparisoned as before, carrying a red banner-like handkerchief fixed to the end of a long pole. They then return to the bridal house, and pass the remainder of the day, and part of the night in feasting and carousing, entertaining themselves with seeing dancing girls, and listening to singing men, who are placed in an outer apartment or balcony. I was allowed to be present at one of these marriages, but I did not see the bride. Cakes, sweetmeats, coffee, and sherbet were distributed, and wine for the Nazarani (myself).

THE BEDOUINS.

Among the different classes of people we met with in Egypt, none struck me more forcibly than the Bedouins. The deserts of Barca, or rather its oases, are inhabited by several tribes of these wanderers, who are often in hostility with each other. The most formidable of them is that called Welled Ali. One of

its chiefs was an inmate in the house inhabited by Osman Bey Bardisi, and to this Sheik I was introduced by Osman, who said to me aloud in Arabic, if you or I were to meet this Sheik in the desert, of which he is one of the wolves, perhaps it would not be for us a pleasant meeting. The Sheik made no reply, but smiled. Many English officers however ventured a long way into the desert in hunting parties, where they staid some days, and all the Bedouins, whom they met, behaved with civility to them. The greatest number of Bedouins to be seen at a time at Alexandria, was at a certain season of the year with their camels, when many of them assembled in the square near the Jerusalem convent gate. The Bedouin, from hard living and constant exposure to the sun of the desert, is extremely lank and thin, and of a very dark complexion; his countenance wild; his eye black and penetrating, his general appearance bespeaking the half savage, and unenlightened son of nature. His sole dress consists of a skull-cap and slippers, and a bernouse, or white woollen garment which covers the whole body, and reaches as low as the calf of the leg, having a hood to cover the head, (for he never wears a turban,) and open holes for the arms. Such is the Bedouin, whether Sheik or not. The Welled Ali Sheik had a lance with a head somewhat like a tomahawk; a long rifle gun, a sabre, and a pair of pistols of superior workmanship.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE,
IN
His Majesty's late Ship Alceste,
TO
THE YELLOW SEA,
ALONG THE COAST OF COREA,
TO THE ISLAND OF LEWCHEW;
And through its numerous hitherto-
undiscovered Islands :
With an Account of her Shipwreck in the
Straits of Gaspar.
BY JOHN M'LEOD, SURGEON,
OF THE ALCESTE.
Octavo.—12s.

CROSSING THE LINE.
ON the 4th March, in the evening, at the moment of crossing the equinoctial-line, the voice of some one, as from the sea, announced himself as Neptune's eldest son, and, after putting the usual interrogatories, added, that his father

father being a little indisposed, and rather squeamish about exposing himself to the night air, had deferred his visit until the morning, when he would personally call on board to inspect the strangers who were now entering his dominions. The son of Neptune seemed now to sink again into the deep. In the morning, his godship, agreeably to promise, appeared seated in his car (a gun-carriage), with his trident and other insignia, attended by Amphitrite, and all his usual train of inferior deities. He was received by a strange looking guard of his own, the band striking up "Rule Britannia!" After paying his respects to the ambassador, the captain, and the rest, the novices, of whom there were not a few, were forthwith shaved, according to a practice immemorial, with a rusty iron hoop, full of notches; and, the lather being washed off, by playing the fire-engine in their faces, they were then wiped dry with a dirty swab. Much mirth and good humour prevailed; and a double allowance of grog finished the ceremony.

THE BRAZILS.

The government of the Brazils seems perfectly despotic; and it is painful to see even Englishmen lose the natural freedom of their character under such dominion. Some, who from long residence had imbibed the feelings of the Portuguese, would, in answering any question relative to public affairs, look cautiously around, to see who was near them, and then whisper their reply.

The prince (now the king) during the period her majesty laid in state, was shut up, according to their usage, not to be seen by any but his chamberlain.

Swarms of priests occupied every avenue to the palace, and hung in clusters on the staircases. St. Sebastians seems to be a soil, in which these members of the *notos da fé* thrive well. The Brazils have lately been raised from the state of a mere colony to the dignity of a kingdom; and the residence of the court has conferred still more substantial advantages on it, arising from the emigration of the chief nobility from Portugal, and the transfer of their wealth to this country.

THE QUEEN'S FUNERAL.

The only spectacle, during our stay, was the funeral of the queen, which took place by torch-light; all the military that could be collected, both horse and foot, lining the streets (which were illuminated) from the palace to the convent of Ajuda. The hearse and state-

coaches were drawn up at the grand entrance, covered with black cloth, and near them the chief mourners, who were eight of the nobles, on horseback. Their dress was the ancient Portuguese costume of mourning. Each had a large broad-brimmed hat, rather slouching down upon the shoulders; a long black cloak, or robe, with the star of some order affixed to it; conveying to the mind of an English spectator, the whimsical combination of a coal-heaver, a priest, and a knight. The king, accompanied by the two elder princes, attended the coffin to the principal porch, and saw it deposited in the hearse, when the whole cavalcade drove off, and the body was interred in the convent, with the usual religious ceremonies. The royal family next day appeared at the balconies of the palace; on which occasion it is usual for the Portuguese to stand uncovered in the square opposite; and, if any of the royal carriages are met on the road, the passengers on horseback must dismount, and even kneel.

Neither of their Portuguese majesties can be considered as regular beauties; but the princesses are good figures, and certainly, upon the whole, handsome women. Don Pedro, their eldest son, promises to be a man of some spirit.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The slave trade still exists to its fullest extent; and this class of the population, however useful they may be, are certainly not ornamental; being the ugliest race of negroes that can be collected from the African coast—Gaboons, Congos, and Angolas. Our West-India islands having been generally supplied with Fantees, from the Gold Coast, with Eyeos, and Ashantees, who are a much finer looking people; this circumstance, added, perhaps, to their improved condition, their better clothing, and general treatment, gives a slave of Jamaica a far less degraded appearance than one in this country. Yet, though the situation of the former is much ameliorated (and undoubtedly superior to his native state in Africa), it is unfortunate that the first European settlers of colonies had not, instead of hunting down and oppressing the natives, trained them to habits of industry; when the term slavery, so revolting to humanity, even under the most favourable circumstances, so contrary to reason and natural right, need never have been known. Our East-India possessions, and late occupation of Java, sufficiently demonstrate the practicability of this system.

NAPOLEON.

NAPOLEON.

They do Bonaparte, here (the Brazils), the honour of being very much afraid of him; and keep a bright eye to windward, lest he should break adrift from St. Helena, and come down upon them before the wind. This silly appearance of fear is something like the weakness of ordering his name never to be mentioned; than which, perhaps, nothing tends more to keep up his consequence.

CHINESE WOMEN.

We here noticed that all the females, high and low, had small feet, which is by no means the case in the southern provinces, especially about Canton. At the latter place, among the middling and lower classes, the feet are allowed to remain in their proper state, unless the girl promises to be handsome, in which case she is crippled in order to give the finishing touch to her beauty, and with the view of preparing her for the mandarin market, where small feet bring a higher price, and she occasionally, also, obtains some interest or favour for her parents through the connexion.

They walk, or rather totter along, like one shuffling on her heels only, without putting the fore part of the foot on the ground; and, in moving quick, they not unfrequently tumble down, when they must get up again the best way they can; for Chinese gallantry was never observed to extend so far as to afford any help on such an occurrence. Some, more cautious, were seen to move about, supporting themselves by the walls of the houses. Girls, from early infancy to eight or nine years old, were carried about in arms, their feet being too tender, during the first years of this absurd and cruel operation, to enable them to bear their weight; the four smaller toes being turned down under the sole, the whole foot and ankle cramped, and the growth impeded by tight bandages, and a small shoe, which is generally again enclosed in a larger one. The pain and irritation excited by this horrid process, as well as the want of exercise, evidently injures their general health, for all the female children had a sickly pallid look. It would be as difficult to account for the origin of this barbarous practice, as that of squeezing the waists of Englishwomen out of all natural shape by stays (an usage which has not long been laid aside); or of "treating men like mere musical instruments," and tuning them, as such, in Italy.

COREA.

What little knowledge we possess of
MONTHLY MAG. NO. 307.

Corea is mostly derived from the Jesuits of China, who certainly were not infallible guides in all matters; but in the geography, general literature, and delineation of manners and customs, when unconnected with their own superstitions, their labours are entitled to a distinguished place in the republic of letters, especially when the difficulties they had to struggle with are taken into consideration; but here they were freed from every motive to deceive, and had only to tell the simple truth.

Corea (or Kaoli) is tributary to the emperor of China, and sends him triennial Embassadors expressive of its homage. We saw enough, however, to convince us that the sovereign of this country governs with most absolute sway; and that, occasionally he makes very free with the heads of his subjects. The allusion to this danger could not have been so constant and uniform, in places so remote from each other, without some strong reason.

The law against intercourse with foreigners appears to be enforced with the utmost rigour. At one of the islands to the north, where we first landed, a Corean, in an unguarded moment, accepted a button which had attracted his attention; but soon after, as the boats were shoving off, he ran down into the water, and insisted on restoring it, at the same time (by way of reparation) pushing the boat with all his might away from the beach. On almost all occasions, they positively refused every thing offered to them. His Corean majesty may well be styled "king of ten thousand isles," but his supposed continental dominions have been very much circumscribed by our visit to his shores. Except in the late and present embassy, no ships had ever penetrated into the Yellow Sea; the Lion had kept the coast of China aboard only, and had neither touched at the Tartar nor Corean side. Cook, Pérouse, Bougainville, Broughton, and others, had well defined the bounds on the eastern coast of this country, but the western had hitherto been laid down on the charts from imagination only, the main land being from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and fifty miles farther to the eastward than these charts had led us to believe.

The Jesuits, therefore, must have taken the coast of Corea from report, and not from observation, for their chart is most incorrect, and by no means corresponds with their usual accuracy. The Chinese written characters have

found their way here, but they would appear to be confined to the literati, for the common language has no resemblance in sound to the colloquial language of China.

THE ISLAND OF LEWCHEW.

The island of Lewchew is about sixty miles long and twenty broad; Napa Kiang, our position, (and within five miles of Kint-ching, the capital,) lying in lat. $26^{\circ} 14' N.$, long. $127^{\circ} 52' 1'' E.$ This is its south-west point, the main body of the island extending from hence north, a little eastwardly.

It is the principal island of a group of thirty-six, subject to the same monarch, and the seat of the government. The natives trace their history back to a period long anterior to the Christian era; but their first communication with the rest of the world, when their accounts became fully corroborated and undisputed, was about the year 605, when they were invaded by China, who found them at that time—a time when England and the greater part of Europe were immersed in barbarism—the same kind of people they are at the present day, with the exception of a few Chinese innovations; or, at least, they appear to have altered but in a very slight degree. Indeed, it is very obvious that a revolution in manners, and alteration of habits, are by no means so likely to occur with a people thus living in an obscure and secluded state, as among those who have a wider intercourse with other nations. The only connexion which the Lewchews have had with their neighbours, and that but very limited, has been with Japan and China, from neither of whom they were likely to receive any example of change.

The clearest and perhaps the only account given of their history is by Supoa Koang, a Chinese doctor or philosopher, who was, in 1719, sent as ambassador to them. The following is the substance of his report as to their origin:—“ The Lewchew tradition states, that, in the beginning, one man and one woman were produced in the great void or chaos. They had the joint name of Omo-mey-kieou. From their union sprung three sons and two daughters; the eldest of the sons had the title of Tien-sun, or grandson of Heaven, and was the first king of Lewchew; the second was the father of the tributary princes; the rest of the people acknowledge the third as their progenitor. The eldest daughter had the title of Celestial Spirit; the second, the Spirit of the Sea. After the

death of Tien-sun, twenty-five dynasties reigned successively in this country, occupying (according to their story) a period of 17,802 years previous to the time of Chuntein, who commenced his reign in 1187. This is their fabulous history, of which they are very jealous; but nothing certain was known until 605, before which the inhabitants of Formosa and the adjacent islands were denominated by the Chinese the Oriental Barbarians. In this year the emperor sent to examine them; but, from want of interpreters, no clear account was obtained. They brought back, however, some of the islanders to Sin-gan-foo, the capital of the province of Chensi, and the seat of the court under the Souydynasty. Some Japanese, who happened to be there, knew the people, and described them as a race of barbarians. The Emperor Yang-ti sent forthwith some who understood their language to Lewchew, to command their homage, and acknowledgment of him as their sovereign. The prince of Lewchew haughtily replied, that he would own none as his superior. A fleet with 10,000 men was now fitted out from Amoi and the ports of Fokien, which force, overcoming the efforts of the islanders, landed at Lewchew; and the king, who had put himself at the head of his people to repel the enemy, being killed, the Chinese burned the capital; and, carrying off 5000 of the natives, as slaves, returned to China. From this, until 1291, the Lewchews were left un molested, when Chit-soo, an emperor of the Yuen family, reviving his pretensions, fitted out a fleet against them from the ports of Fokien; but, from various causes, it never proceeded farther than the western coast of Formosa, and from thence returned unsuccessful to China. In the year 1372, Hong-ou, emperor of China, and founder of the Ming dynasty, sent a great mandarin to Tsay-tou, who governed in Tchon-chan, the country being at this period divided, in consequence of civil disturbances, into the three kingdoms, who, in a private audience, acquitted himself with such address as to persuade the king to declare himself tributary to China, and to request of the emperor the investiture of his estate.

The dress of these people is as remarkable for its simplicity as it is for its elegance. The hair, which is of a glossy black, (being anointed with an oleaginous substance, obtained from the leaf of a tree,) is turned up from before, from behind, and on both sides, to the crown

of the head, and there tied close down; great care being taken that all should be perfectly smooth; and the part of the hair beyond the fastening, or string, being now twisted into a neat little top-knot, is there retained by two fasteners, called camesashee and usisashee, made either of gold, silver, or brass, according to the circumstances of the wearer; the former of these having a little star on the end of it, which points forward. This mode of hair-dressing is practised with the greatest uniformity, from the highest to the lowest of the males, and has a very pleasing effect, whether viewed singly, or when they are gathered together. At the age of ten years the boys are entitled to the usisashee, and at fifteen they wear both. Except those in office, who wear only a cap on duty, they appear to have no covering for the head, at least in fine weather. Internally they wear a kind of shirt, and a pair of drawers, but over all a loose robe, with wide sleeves, and a broad sash round their middle. They have sandals on their feet, neatly formed of straw; and the higher orders have also white gaiters, coming above the ankle. The quality of their robes depends on that of the individual.—The superior classes wear silk of various hues, with a sash of contrasting colour, sometimes interwoven with gold.—The lower orders make use of a sort of cotton stuff, generally of a chesnut colour, and sometimes striped, or spotted, blue and white.

There are nine ranks of grandees, or public officers, distinguished by their caps; of which we observed four.—The highest noticed was worn by a member of the royal family, which was of a pink colour, with bright yellow flowers.—The next in dignity was the purple; then plain yellow; and the red seemed to be the lowest.

The island of Lewchew itself is situate in the happiest climate of the globe.—Refreshed by the sea-breezes, which, from its geographical position, blow over it at every period of the year, it is free from the extremes of heat and cold, which oppress many other countries; whilst from the general configuration of the land, being more adapted to the production of rivers and streams than of bogs and marshes, one great source of disease in the warmer latitudes has no existence: and the people seemed to enjoy robust health; for we observed no diseased objects, nor beggars of any description, among them.

Nature has been bountiful in all her

gifts to Lewchew: for such is the felicity of its soil and climate, that productions of the vegetable kingdom, very distinct in their nature, and generally found in regions far distant from each other, grow here side by side. It is not merely, as might be expected, the country of the orange and the lime; but the banyan of India and the Norwegian fir, the tea-plant and the sugar-cane, all flourish together. In addition to many good qualities, not often found combined, this island can also boast its rivers and secure harbours; and last, though not least, a worthy, a friendly, and a happy race of people.

These islanders, are represented as remarkable for their honesty, and adherence to truth, and to this character they appear to be fully entitled. The chiefs informed us, that there was little probability of their stealing any thing; but, as iron implements were a great temptation they begged that none might be left carelessly about. Although, however, the rope machinery and other articles remained, for many nights, unguarded on the beach, and their opportunities on board were numberless, yet not one theft occurred during the whole of our sojourn among them. That proud and haughty feeling of national superiority, so strongly existing among the common class of British seamen, which induces them to hold all foreigners cheap, and to treat them with contempt, often calling them outlandish lubbers in their own country, was, at this island, completely subdued and tamed by the gentle manners and kind behaviour of the most pacific people upon earth. Although completely intermixed, and often working together, both on shore and on board, not a single quarrel or complaint took place on either side during the whole of our stay; on the contrary, each succeeding day added to friendship and cordiality.

QUARREL WITH THE CHINESE.

We soon began to experience the inveterate ill-will of the viceroy Tsong-tou, of Canton, who, well aware that the object of the embassy was in a great measure directed against his extortions, and those of his myrmidons, on our commerce, naturally entertained the most perfect hatred and detestation for any ship attached to such a mission. The people of Lintin (no doubt by the influence of their superiors) dammed up the course of the water; and it was not until sentries were placed along the little stream, to keep it clear, that we

were enabled to fill our casks. The comprador, or the person employed to supply ships with provisions and necessaries, could only smuggle himself on board after dark; and then hurrying away trembling, for fear of being found near us at daylight with his boats. His master, (or partner) Aming, had very lately been tortured, imprisoned, and fined; or, to use the Chinese phrase, squeezed in a very heavy sum, on suspicion that he knew of the intention of the captains of some Chinamen to proceed into the city, in order to present a memorial to the viceroy; and that he had not given information of this circumstance, that it might have been prevented. It seems the viceroy, in malicious feeling to the General Hewitt, because she had been connected with the embassy, would not permit her to load, under pretence that she was a tribute ship; that she must wait to carry back the unaccepted presents, and of course could have no room for teas. Had it even been intended that she should carry back the presents (which was not the case, as, in the event of their not being received, they were to be otherwise disposed of), still they would not have occupied the tenth part of her tonnage; and, besides all this, it was no business of the viceroy to interfere with the arrangements about the unaccepted tribute.

Against an open attack, a British commander can never be at a loss how to act; but the present was a most trying and embarrassing case, and imposed a very heavy and serious weight of responsibility. That His Majesty's ship should be supplied by an unauthorized individual under cover of night, and by stealth, was not to be endured; to be denied admission to the harbour, and detained in an unprecedented manner, at this season of the year, in an open and dangerous road, could not be viewed but as an act of absolute hostility; and to all this were added sneering insult and contempt, of the most mortifying kind.

About two o'clock P.M. next day we weighed, the flood tide serving, and beat up towards the Bocca Tigris, or Bogue, then distant a few miles. The Bocca Tigris is the mouth of the principal branch of that river, on which Canton is situated, and where it is contracted to about the breadth of the Thames at London; but the banks are formed by high land, more especially on the east side.

The fortifications on this pass were formerly insignificant, and allowed to

remain in a very dismantled state; but lately they have been repaired and strengthened with much care; an additional battery of forty guns being built, rather farther up, and on the same side with old Annan-hoy; a hundred and ten pieces of cannon, of different calibres, being at present mounted on these forts, including that of the island of Wang-tong opposite, the whole three being within half gunshot of each other, with a garrison of about 1,200 men.

Chumpee, which lies in a corner farther down, has about twelve or fourteen guns; but a ship may keep out of reach of them. As we advanced, some war-junks formed a line off Chumpee, and were soon after joined by several more, making altogether seventeen or eighteen. They carry, on an average, six guns, with from sixty to eighty men each. About this time (five o'clock) the same loquacious linguist before mentioned came on board from the mandarins, and desired, in a high and domineering tone, that the ship should be directly anchored, and that, if we presumed to pass up the river, the batteries would instantly sink her; availing himself, at the same time, of that favourable opportunity, to express his personal sense of low consideration for us, and plainly telling the captain he thought him very impertinent. The latter calmly observed, that he would first pass the batteries, and then hang him at the yard-arm, for daring to bring on board a British man-of-war so impudent a message: his boat was then cut adrift, and himself taken into custody. The junks now commenced firing blank cartridge, which we returned with three guns from the ship, affecting to consider this as a mere salute. On the next tack we passed close to these warriors, who remained quiet until we got inside of them, and opened Chumpee; when that fort, little Annan-hoy, and the junks (now under weigh), began to fire with shot. At this moment, the wind becoming light and baffling, we were obliged to drop anchor in Anson's bay, in order to hold the ground we had gained, and that they might not suppose they had driven us back; and in the act of wearing for this purpose, we gave the admiral of the junks a single shot only, by way of a hint*. They immediately ceased firing; and their junks anchoring

* The first shot was fired by the captain's own hand, that, in the event of the Chinese demanding those who fired, instead

near us, all remained quiet until a little after eight o'clock, when a light breeze sprung up, which enabled us to lay our course, and the anchor was again weighed. The moment this was observed by the junks, they beat their gongs, fired guns, and threw up sky-rockets, to give the alarm, and in an instant the batteries were completely illuminated, displaying lanterns as large as moderate-sized balloons, (the finest mark imaginable for us,) commencing also a warm, but ill-directed, fire from both sides. Steering a steady course, the ship maintained a slow and regular fire, as the guns could be got to bear, without yawing her.

From the lightness of the breeze, which the cannonade seemed to lessen, it was a considerable time before we got abreast of the largest battery. At last, when within pistol-shot of the angle of it, and just before they could get all their guns to bear into the ship, a whole broadside, with cool aim, was poured in among them, the two-and-thirty pounders rattling the stones about their ears in fine style, and giving them at the same time three roaring cheers.

This salvo was decisive at this particular point; their lights disappeared in a twinkling, and they were completely silenced; but from the island opposite they still continued their fire, the balls which passed over and around us striking New Annan-hoy, which had thereby the full benefit of their own as well as our shot.

Soon after this our point was gained; and, standing up the river, we displayed our stern to these gentlemen. It is somewhat extraordinary, that it should have been gained so easily; for, notwithstanding we were nearly an hour wrangling in this narrow passage, not a man (on our side) was killed, the ship only hulled twice, and some trifling damage done to the rigging. Almost any European gunners, with the same advantages, would have blown the frigate out of the water. During this affair, the flashing of the guns on the glassy surface of the river, and the rolling echo of their reports along the adjoining hills, had a very grand and animating effect. The Chinese linguist, who had crawled below when he saw matters taking a serious turn, and having observed there was no joking in the case, began in real ear-

stead of those who ordered, or of seizing upon any innocent person, he might fully place himself in the situation of being individually responsible for all consequences.

nest to think, as one part of the promise had been fulfilled, that his time had now arrived. Coming trembling upon deck, he prostrated himself, and, kissing the captain's feet, begged for mercy. At that moment, hearing the order given to "stand by the larboard guns for Tiger Island," (on which we then supposed there was a battery,) he said, with a rueful countenance, "What! no hab done yet?" "Not half done" was the reply: "How many guns have you got on Tiger Island?"—but, without waiting to answer this question (or indeed reflecting in his perturbation that there were none at all,) he wrung his hands, groaned heavily, and dived again below.

In the evening, Captain Maxwell, attended by two gentlemen of the ship, proceeded in person to Canton to demand satisfaction (after having taken it) for the insult offered in firing upon the king's ship. On their way up they remained one evening with Captain Campbell, of the Hewitt, and on that night, the news of the business, with the batteries having become public, much alarm was at first excited at Canton, as to the consequences of this measure: but the next morning they were agreeably surprised by the appearance of several tea-junks alongside, with part of her cargo, the viceroy having given permission for her to load immediately!—It also came to pass, that the said viceroy thought proper to send down to the frigate, on this day, a high mandarin, attended by one of the Hong merchants, to wait upon the captain, to welcome him into the river, and to compliment him with all possible politeness!

The removal of our trade for a single year, and the appearance of a few of our lightest cruisers on their coasts, would throw the whole of this celestial empire into confusion; for they are not prepared for the loss that would occur in the one case, nor to meet the tumult and convulsion that would be excited by the destruction of their fisheries and coasting trade in the other. So feeble is their naval power, that, after warring with the pirates for many years, who chased their vessels up the river, and sacked the towns and villages within a few miles of Canton, they were at last obliged to compromise with them, bribing the whole to be quiet, and making their chiefs first-chop mandarins.

CANTON.

Canton may be considered the most interesting city in China. It is one of the first in point of size, and, perhaps, the very first with respect to wealth; and

and here, as the native manners may be seen in all their purity as perfectly as in any other part, the traveller has also the advantage of viewing them as connected with Europeans, and of noticing their brightest efforts of imitative genius, which the encouragement afforded by the commerce of the place calls forth.

The numerous junks and boats of all descriptions in motion upon the Tigris, surpasses even the busy scene displayed upon the Thames; for here the boats are the only residence of some thousand families, who live entirely on the water, and manage to obtain a livelihood, some by plying passage, others by fishing and picking up floating articles, and not unfrequently by exercising their talents, like our mud-larkers and river pirates.

The appearance of the river at night, completely illuminated by the lamps and lanterns in all the boats, has a very pretty effect. Infanticide is said not to be so common in China as was at one time believed; but that it actually exists, is not attempted to be denied even by the Chinese themselves; one of whom, on being interrogated seriously on the subject, readily admitted, without seeming to consider it as a crime, that they certainly did drown their children when they were so numerous as to be inconvenient to them; but that boys might be exposed alive, and, if picked up, they became eunuchs or slaves. It would appear, therefore, that female children are most likely to become the victims in this way, from being less useful to their parents when they grow up; for the patriarchal law of China considers the sons as slaves of their father; and he is entitled to sell them as such, should occasion require. The entertainments given by the Hong merchants at Canton to their European friends are considered to be very superb. Seldom fewer than a hundred people sit down in the great hall to dinner, which is usually dressed in our style (although they have also their chop-stick feasts) and plenty of the best viands, wines, and fruits cover the table.

BOA CONSTRICTOR.

Notwithstanding the crowded state of the Cæsar, two passengers, of rather a singular nature, were put on board at Batavia, for a passage to England: the one, a snake of that species called *boa constrictor*, the other, an *ourang outang*.—The former was somewhat small of his kind, being only about sixteen feet long, and of about eighteen inches in circumference; but his stomach was rather disproportionate to his size, as will presently appear.—He was

a native of Borneo, and was the property of a gentleman (now in England), who had two of the same sort; but, in their passage up to Batavia, one of them broke from his confinement, and very soon cleared the decks, as every body very civilly made way for him. Not being used to a ship, however, or taking, perhaps, the sea for a green field, he sprawled overboard, and was drowned. He is said not to have sunk immediately, but to have reared his head several times and with it a considerable portion of his body, out of the sea. His companion, lately our shipmate, was brought safely on shore, and lodged in the courtyard of Mr. Davidson's house at Ryswick, where he remained for some months, waiting for an opportunity of being conveyed home, in some commodious ship, sailing directly for England, and where he was likely to be carefully attended to. This opportunity offered in the Cæsar, and he was accordingly embarked on board of that ship with the rest of her numerous passengers.

During his stay at Ryswick, he is said to have been usually entertained with a goat for dinner once in every three or four weeks, with occasionally a duck or a fowl, by way of a dessert.—He was brought on board shut up in a wooden crib or cage, the bars of which were sufficiently close to prevent his escape; and it had a sliding door, for the purpose of admitting the articles on which he was to subsist; the dimensions of the crib were about four feet high, and about five feet square; a space sufficiently large to allow him to coil himself round with ease. The live stock for his use during the passage, consisting of six goats of the ordinary size, were sent with him on board, five being considered as a fair allowance for as many months. At an early period of the voyage we had an exhibition of his talent in the way of eating, which was publicly performed on the quarter-deck, upon which he was brought. The sliding-door being opened, one of the goats was thrust in, and the door of the cage shut. The poor goat, as if instantly aware of all the horrors of its perilous situation, immediately began to utter the most piercing and distressing cries, bunting instinctively, at the same time, with its head towards the serpent, in self-defence*.

* The parties guilty of this atrocious act, ought themselves to have been made to exchange places with the helpless goat! —EDITOR.

The snake, which at first appeared scarcely to notice the poor animal, soon began to stir a little, and, turning his head in the direction of the goat, it at length fixed a deadly and malignant eye on the trembling victim, whose agony and terror seemed to increase; for, previous to the snake seizing its prey, it shook in every limb, but still continuing its unavailing show of attack, by butting at the serpent, who now became sufficiently animated to prepare for the banquet. The first operation was that of darting out his forked tongue, and at the same time rearing a little his head; then suddenly seizing the goat by the fore leg with his mouth, and throwing him down, he was encircled in an instant in his horrid folds. So quick, indeed, and so instantaneous was the act, that it was impossible for the eye to follow the rapid convolution of his elongated body. It was not a regular screw-like turn that was formed, but resembling rather a knot; one part of the body overlaying the other, as if to add weight to the muscular pressure, the more effectually to crush his object. During this time he continued to grasp with his mouth, though it appeared an unnecessary precaution, that part of the animal which he had first seized. The poor goat, in the mean time, continued its feeble and half-stifled cries for some minutes, but they soon became more and more faint, and at last it expired. The snake, however, retained it for a considerable time in its grasp, after it was apparently motionless. He then began slowly and cautiously to unfold himself till the goat fell dead from his monstrous embrace, when he began to prepare himself for the feast. Placing his mouth in front of the head of the dead animal, he commenced by lubricating with his saliva that part of the goat; and then taking its muzzle into his mouth, which had, and indeed always has, the appearance of a raw lacerated wound, he sucked it in, as far as the horns would allow. These protuberances opposed some little difficulty, not so much from their extent as from their points; however, they also, in a very short time, disappeared; that is to say, externally; but their progress was still to be traced very distinctly on the outside, threatening every moment to protrude through the skin. The victim had now descended as far as the shoulders; and it was an astonishing sight to observe the extraordinary action of the snake's muscles when stretched to such an unnatural extent—an extent which must

have utterly destroyed all muscular power in any animal that was not, like itself, endowed with very peculiar faculties of expansion and action at the same time. When his head and neck had no other appearance than that of a serpent's skin, stuffed almost to bursting, still the workings of the muscles were evident; and his power of suction, as it is erroneously called, unabated; it was, in fact, the effect of a contractile muscular power, assisted by two rows of strong hooked teeth. With all this he must be so formed as to be able to suspend, for a time, his respiration, for it is impossible to conceive that the process of breathing could be carried on while the mouth and throat were so completely stuffed and expanded by the body of the goat, and the lungs themselves (admitting the trachea to be ever so hard) compressed, as they must have been, by its passage downwards.

The whole operation of completely gorging the goat, occupied about two hours and twenty minutes: at the end of which time, the tumefaction was confined to the middle part of the body, or stomach, the superior parts, which had been so much distended, having resumed their natural dimensions. He now coiled himself up again, and laid quietly in his usual torpid state for about three weeks or a month, when, his last meal appearing to be completely digested and dissolved, he was presented with another goat, which he devoured with equal facility. It would appear that almost all he swallows is converted into nutrition, for a small quantity of calcareous matter (and that, perhaps, not a tenth part of the bones of the animal) with occasionally some of the hairs, seemed to compose his general fæces;—and this may account for these animals being able to remain so long without a supply of food. He had more difficulty in killing a fowl than a larger animal, the former being too small for his grasp.

As we approached the Cape of Good Hope, this animal began to droop, as was then supposed, from the increasing coldness of the weather, (which may probably have had its influence,) and he refused to kill some fowls which were offered to him. Between the Cape and St. Helena he was found dead in his cage; and, on dissection, the coats of his stomach were discovered to be excoriated and perforated by worms. Nothing remained of the goat except one of the horns, every other part being dissolved.

ORANG OUTANG.

The orang outang, also a native of Borneo, is an animal remarkable not only from being extremely rare, but as possessing, in many respects, a strong resemblance to man. What is technically denominated the cranium is perfectly human in its appearance; the shape of the upper part of the head, the forehead, the eyes (which are dark and full), the eye-lashes, and, indeed, every thing relating to the eyes and ears, differing in no respect from man. The hair of his head, however, is merely the same which covers his body generally. The nose is very flat,—the distance between it and the mouth considerable; the chin, and, in fact, the whole of the lower jaw, is very large, and his teeth, twenty-six in number, are strong. The lower part of his face is what may be termed an ugly, or caricature, likeness of the human countenance. The position of the scapulae, or shoulder blades, the general form of the shoulders and breasts, as well as the figure of the arms, the elbow-joint especially, and the hands, strongly continue the resemblance. The metacarpal, or that part of the hand immediately above the fingers, is somewhat elongated; and, by the thumb being thrown a little higher up, nature seems to have adapted the hand to his mode of life, and given him the power of grasping more effectually the branches of trees.

He is corpulent about the abdomen, or, in common phrase, rather pot-bellied, looking like one of those figures of Bacchus often seen riding on casks: but whether this is his natural appearance when wild, or acquired since his introduction into new society, and by indulging in a high style of living, it is difficult to determine.

His thighs and legs are short and bandy, the ankle and heel like the human; but the fore part of the foot is composed of toes, as long and as pliable as his fingers, with a thumb a little situated before the inner ankle; this conformation enabling him to hold equally fast with his feet as with his hands. When he stands erect, he is about three

feet high, and he can walk, when led, like a child; but his natural locomotion, when on a plane surface, is supporting himself along, at every step, by placing the knuckles of his hands upon the ground. All the fingers, both of the hands and feet, have nails exactly like the human race, except the thumb of the foot, which is without any.

His natural food would appear to be all kinds of fruits and nuts; but he eats biscuit, or any other sort of bread, and sometimes animal food. He will drink grog, or even spirits, if given to him; and has been known repeatedly to help himself in this way: he was also taught to sip his tea or coffee, and, since his arrival in England, has discovered a taste for a pot of porter. His usual conduct is not mischievous, and chattering like that of monkeys in general; but he has rather a grave and sedate character, and is much inclined to be social, and on good terms with every body. He made no difficulty, however, when cold, or inclined to sleep, in supplying himself with any jacket he found hanging about, or in stealing a pillow from a hammock, in order to lie more soft and comfortably.

Sometimes, when teased by shewing him something to eat, he would display, in a very strong manner, the human passions, following the person whining and crying, throwing himself off on his back, and rolling about apparently in a great rage, attempting to bite those near him, and frequently lowering himself by a rope over the ship's side, as if pretending to drown himself; but, when he came near the water's edge, he always reconsidered the matter, and came on board again. He would often rifle and examine the pockets of his friends in quest of nuts and biscuits, which they sometimes carried for him. He had a great antipathy to the smaller tribe of monkeys, and would throw them overboard if he could; but in his general habits and disposition there is much docility and good nature, and, when not annoyed, is extremely inoffensive. He approaches, upon the whole, nearer to the human kind, than any other animal.

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